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LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN

ENGLAND AND GERMANY

AT THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION IN BOHEMIA TO THE
ELECTION OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II.

EDITED BY

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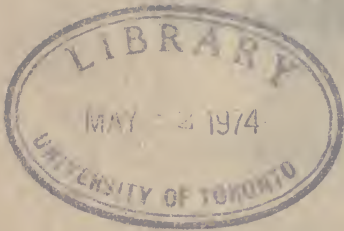


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PREFACE.

It is seldom that events which have taken place upon the Continent have affected the course of English history so deeply as the struggle between the two religious parties in Germany which lit up the flames of the Thirty Years' War. The second growth of Puritanism, and the anti-monarchical feeling which reached its culminating point in the reign of Charles I., may be distinctly traced to the dissatisfaction of the nation with the desertion by James of his Protestant allies.

The general character of James's diplomacy has long been one of the common places of history. What it was in detail no one has yet inquired. And yet it would seem to be necessary to the forming of a just estimate of the foreign policy of the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624 to arrive at some correct idea of the real nature of the diplomacy which they denounced.

The present volume is an attempt to fill up to some extent this gap in our history by means of documents which, with three or four exceptions, have been hitherto unpublished. The interesting despatches of Doncaster were consulted by Mrs. Green, and quotations have been introduced by her in her *Lives of the Princesses*, but she has almost exclusively confined her choice to passages which relate to the personal history of the Electress Palatine.

This volume forms a complete work in itself, carrying down the history of English diplomacy in Germany to a definite period. Materials have however been collected for another series which will

illustrate the missions of Dohna and Buwinckhausen to England, and the vacillation of James consequent upon the acceptance of the Crown of Bohemia by his son-in-law.

I have only to add, that, unless when I have specially noticed the exception, Doncaster's despatches are all in the hand of his Secretary Nethersole, and signed only by himself; and that the marginal notes appended to letters received by Sir Robert Naunton are in his own handwriting. I have only printed them where they seemed to throw light upon the letter on which they were written. Sometimes they had reference to other subjects, or were mere catch-words inserted to direct the reader's eye to certain passages in the text.

INTRODUCTION.

In the history of religious liberty local toleration precedes personal toleration. It was in the nature of things that, before individuals were acknowledged to possess the right of believing and worshipping as they pleased, it must have been decided whether States themselves were to be allowed the right of adopting a religion which was obnoxious to other members of the European commonwealth.

At one time it seemed as if the German States, in the midst of which the Protestant doctrines had been first heard, would also have been the first to establish complete protection to the several states in their own religious developement. By the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 each State of the Empire was acknowledged to have the right of regulating its own religious affairs.

The celebrated maxim *Cujus regio ejus religio* is rarely mentioned now except with obloquy. It is seldom remembered that in truth it was a landmark in the path to freedom. For it was directed not against the individual but against the Emperor. That individual liberty was intolerable was acknowledged by every one. The only question was who the persecutor was to be.

The smallness of the German territories was undoubtedly conducive to theological bitterness. Nowhere were clerical cliques so narrow-minded, nowhere was the circle of orthodoxy fenced about with such careful restrictions, as in the petty states of the Empire. But the same cause which narrowed the creed and soured the temper of the Court divines, rendered the lot of the persecuted

defender of uncourtly opinions comparatively easy. The Calvinist who was unable to live peaceably at Dresden, and the Lutheran whose existence was rendered miserable at Heidelberg, had only to retreat a few miles across the border to find a new home where his own mother tongue was spoken, and where he was sure to be received with open arms by a band of sympathizing admirers, and to be rewarded by the patronage of a friendly Prince.

But for the existence of the Ecclesiastical Principalities, the Peace of Augsburg would probably have been accepted as a permanent settlement, and in due course of time the Princes, ceasing to dread attacks from without, would have removed the yoke which pressed upon their subjects.

The Ecclesiastical Reservation which forbade the further secularisation of Church lands was soon broken through at many points, especially in the North of Germany. The greed for extension of dominion by which the aggressors were actuated was excused in the eyes of themselves and of posterity by the fact that the Protestant populations subject to Catholic prelates sympathized with the change.

At last a check was placed upon these gradual encroachments. An attempt made to secularise the Electorate of Cologne and the Bishopric of Strasburg failed. The Ecclesiastical States on the Rhine had the Spanish armies in the Netherlands at their backs. Yet even this resource might have failed in the end if the power of the sword had not been sustained by the spiritual arms of the Jesuits. A Catholic reaction spread gradually Northwards, and before the end of the sixteenth century Protestant preachers had been silenced and Protestant congregations dispersed till the populations of the still remaining Ecclesiastical domains were once more willing subjects of the Roman see.

It is not to the pressure of the governments alone that this change was to be attributed. The selfishness of the Protestant Princes and

the wranglings of Protestant theologians were little calculated to attract the hearts of men by the side of the devotion and discipline of the Jesuits. "Order is Heaven's first law," and it was only when they could oppose the Jesuits in the name of a higher and more divine order than they could teach, that they had any chance of success against them.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century the Protestant States demanded a revision of the Treaty of Augsburg, so as to suit the altered circumstances of the time. "Recognize," they said in effect, "the secularisations which have already taken place, and we will engage that no further encroachments shall be made." In the same spirit they approached the question of the Imperial Courts, which, as experience had taught, were not to be trusted to decide questions fairly to which a Protestant and a Catholic were parties. They demanded that the questions then pending should not be brought before the Courts at all, but should be made the subjects of amicable negotiations, and that the Protestants should be admitted to occupy their fair share of the Bench of the Imperial Courts.

These demands were so reasonable in themselves, and they were so consonant to the settlement which was finally adopted at the Peace of Westphalia, that their rejection by the Catholics is sufficient to throw upon them the blame of being the principal originators of the Thirty Years' War.

The reasons which induced the Catholic States to reject the compromise thus offered were mainly two.

In the first place, though they had, as far as it was possible to discover, no intention at this time to recover by force of arms the secularised property in dispute, they were unwilling to give their formal consent to its alienation. What had been lost before 1555 was gone, and their fathers must answer for that. What was now required was, that they should give to that which they looked upon

as a fresh act of spoliation the sanction of the public law of the Empire.

This difficulty would, however, probably have been overcome in time by some such compromise as that which was adopted at Mülhausen in 1620, if it had not formed part of another and larger objection. For the Catholics saw well enough that they were required in reality to decree the dissolution of the Empire. The authority of that venerable institution had been deeply impaired by the peace of Augsburg. Would any remnant of it be left at all, if it were once more summoned to relinquish its right to vindicate the legal title of the suppressed Ecclesiastical foundations? It was not simply party feeling which thus attached the Catholics to the Emperor; it was also dread of the anarchy which must almost inevitably ensue upon the dissolution of the Empire, which held them back. What they were required to surrender was a legal right, and, in their eyes at least, a legal right based upon the eternal principles of justice. And this they were required to do not in the name of any opposing theory of right and justice, but simply in the name of what in the political jargon of the present day are called "accomplished facts." If they yielded now, what possible guarantee was there that in the next generation the Protestants would not seize some favourable opportunity of making a fresh aggression, and then appeal to the consideration of the Catholics to give them a legal title to the property acquired by spoliation?

Such reasoning as this must have been hard enough for the Protestant Princes to reply to; not because it was unanswerable, but because the only satisfactory answer was based upon principles which they themselves refused to admit. Their claim was in reality in accordance with a higher justice than any that could be invoked on the part of the Catholics, not because they had a prescription of forty or fifty years to their new possessions, but because the in-

habitants of those possessions were unwilling to submit to the return of their ancient masters. If the Empire was blind to this all-important fact, it must face the inevitable dissolution that was before it.

For some years logic was bandied about from one side to the other in vain. Both parties were thoroughly frightened. The Protestants imagined that the Catholics were contemplating a forcible seizure of the secularised domains. The Catholics believed that the Protestants intended an equally violent aggression upon the territories still remaining in Ecclesiastical hands. The Protestant Union, under the Elector Palatine, and the Catholic League, under the Duke of Bavaria, sprung into existence as defensive associations, and glared defiantly at one another across the irregular line by which the two religions were geographically separated.

Yet, as years passed on, the prospects of the maintenance of peace brightened. That the war caused by the disputed succession in Cleves was brought to an end without any general outbreak of hostilities was in itself a good augury for the future. The Union and the League were, in fact as well as in name, defensive associations, and, if only the next Imperial election could be wisely used to force a compromise upon the Catholics, it was not impossible that the peace of Germany might be maintained.

The candidate put forward by the Catholics to the Imperial throne which might any day be vacated by the death of the Emperor Matthias was the Archduke Ferdinand, by hereditary right sovereign of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and by the choice of the childless Matthias, and the voluntary cession of the childless brothers of the Emperor, heir to the remaining dominions of the House of Austria. He was known to be of firm and unyielding temper, and his devotion to the cause of the Catholic reaction had been proved by his violent suppression of Protestantism in his

hereditary dominions, and by his refusal, as representative of the Emperor, to accept the Protestant compromise at the diet of 1609. If it had been possible to find another candidate, it would have been worth while for the Protestants to vote against him. But as this was not the case, as no Protestant candidate could by any possibility gain more than three votes out of the seven, and as an attempt made by the Elector Palatine to divide the forces of the Catholics by offering his support to Maximilian of Bavaria had failed altogether, there was nothing left but to accept the unwelcome necessity, and to be content with imposing reasonable conditions upon Ferdinand.

Nor would this be by any means an unsatisfactory result. For it could hardly be doubted that if the Protestants were unanimous concessions would be made to them, and that when those concessions were once made, Ferdinand, if he had the will, would be altogether without the power to violate them.

But for the disturbing influence of the Bohemian Revolution therefore, it is not improbable that the election of Ferdinand would have been celebrated by a grateful posterity as the commencement of an era of peace. It was the condition of the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria which precipitated the crisis which might otherwise have been averted.

The fortunate marriages of the House of Austria have passed into a proverb; and it is seldom that any satirical distich has attained such universal currency as that which asserted that the descendants of Rudolph of Hapsburg owed the crowns that they had won to Venus rather than to Mars. Yet in sober truth the greatness of that House was owing to a very different cause. It was in vain that the heiresses of each neighbouring kingdom and duchy were wooed and won by successive Archdukes. The repulsion between rival districts and rival races was too strong to be overcome in this

manner. The work of dissolution went on as rapidly as that of annexation, and it was seldom that the second and third generation did not see the tie broken and the work to be done over again.

What dynastic ambition was unable to effect was accomplished by the fear of the Turkish power. After the terrible defeat of Mohacs in 1526, Hungary and Bohemia threw themselves into the arms of Ferdinand I., and as long as the conflict lasted they remained on the whole faithful to his successors. It was not till the peace of Sitva Torok in 1606 that the terror of a Turkish conquest was finally removed, and scarcely was the ink dry upon that treaty when the commotions which preceded the deposition of Rudolph gave an unmistakeable sign that the light band which had held together the various races for so many years was being strained to its utmost.

A necessary consequence of the opposition which thus sprung up between the House of Austria and the races which submitted uneasily to its sceptre was the struggle which had to be fought out here, as it had to be fought out everywhere else, between monarchy and the feudal aristocracy, by which in each separate state the traditions of national independence were maintained.

That the political effects which would have resulted from a failure of the House of Austria to accomplish its ends would have been most disastrous, it is impossible to doubt. A dissolution of the ties which bound Austria to Bohemia and to Hungary could hardly fail to have been accompanied by a fresh and successful attack from the Turks. The janissaries would have threatened Europe from the walls of Vienna. Even if this miserable catastrophe had been averted, it would only have been by the efforts of men who would have allowed their country to waste away in the miseries of a Polish anarchy till, in the fulness of time, their

crimes had ripened to the harvest which would be gathered in by the armies of the Czar.

It was the misfortune of Austrian Protestantism that its fate was intimately united with that of the aristocracy. Nowhere in Europe had the Protestant clergy so little influence. No Austrian Calvin or Knox, not even a Ridley or a Cranmer, had ever sprung into existence. The Bohemian confession of faith stands alone amongst the countless confessions of the sixteenth century as the work of a body composed entirely of laymen. That there were thousands amongst those vast populations whose faith was sincere cannot be doubted for a moment. The little band of mediæval Puritans, the Bohemian Brothers, had long submitted to an iron discipline, and in the midst of trials and persecutions had proved their constancy long before the name of Protestantism had been heard of. There were large numbers of Lutherans who, when the day of trouble came, proved their attachment to their faith by submitting to poverty and exile for its sake, and there were still larger numbers who returned to the Roman Church only in name, and who handed down their secret faith to their children to burst forth once more when the edict of toleration was published by Joseph II. Nor is it possible to estimate how far religion may have exercised its influence upon the hearts even of those to whom it chiefly appealed as being the watchword of a political party. Yet when every allowance has been made, the dispassionate inquirer can hardly come to any other conclusion than that, however badly he may think of the religious system by which Protestantism was superseded in these territories, he cannot do otherwise than rejoice at the defeat of the political system of the men by whom Protestantism was mainly supported.

And if this is the view which sober historians in the nineteenth

century are inclined to take, with what eyes must the youthful Ferdinand have looked upon the scenes which were passing before him. His character and position have not received justice either from the acrimonious attacks of his contemporaries, or from the indiscriminate eulogy of his recent biographer. His distinct place in the scale which leads from the loathing and unquestioning intolerance of men like our Henry V. to the large tolerance of men like William III., has still to be recognised. Step by step, as each generation took its place upon the stage, the political aspect of ecclesiastical dispute presented itself more vividly to the minds of the representative men of the age, whilst the theological aspect was gradually sinking out of sight. The place of Ferdinand II. is to be found between Philip II. and Richelieu. To the Spaniard of the sixteenth century Protestantism was still an odious heresy, which if it were allowed to spread might perhaps be injurious to absolute monarchy, and to Spanish supremacy, but which was chiefly to be abominated as tainting the religious faith of Christians. By the Frenchman of the seventeenth century it was altogether regarded from the political point of view. Ferdinand occupies a middle position. Protestantism is still an error hateful to God and man; but it is easy to see, from the expressions which he uses in those chance utterances which betray character most readily, that it is as a source of moral and political disorder rather than as a spiritual poison that he is accustomed to regard it. "So lange," he wrote to his sister in 1547, "die Prädicanten walten, ist nichts als Aufruhr und Unrath zu erwarten, wie man es da wo sie geduldet werden täglich erfahren kann." In his will, drawn up finally in 1621, he charged the guardians of his son to banish from the land all heretical doctrines, "woraus Ungehorsam und Schwierigkeit der Unterthanen entspringt." His motto, "Legitimè certantibus," was the truest expression of his mind, ever anxious for the orderly

maintenance of justice, ever ready to submit to the restraints which he believed to be legitimate.

To such a man the religious condition of the Austrian territories must have appeared even more anarchical than it really was. That the aristocracy should have taken possession for the Protestants of the churches to which they had the right of presentation was, if altogether indefensible on Ferdinand's principles, yet intelligible enough when viewed from a certain point of view. That they should seize upon neighbouring churches, the patronage of which was not theirs, should drive out the priests, should maltreat persons who refused to abjure their original faith, should carry off the altar-plate, and convert the sacristy into a larder or a cellar, would appear to him more disgraceful still. Such things indeed are only what had taken place in Scotland fifty or sixty years before. In a sudden change carried out in a richly endowed church, such abuses were in that age almost inevitable. The difference between the ecclesiastical positions of Scotland and Austria results from the fact that in Scotland there sprung up a Calvinistic creed, and a Presbyterian organization, which, however harsh may have been its rule when the day of trial was at an end, served undoubtedly to give cohesion and moral discipline to those who took no part in the vices and avarice of the aristocracy. To play such a part as this in the history of their country, the Austrian Lutheran clergy had no pretensions. With the aristocracy they had risen to importance, with the aristocracy they would fall.

Whether it would have been possible for a Protestant ruler to introduce order among his nobles without riding roughshod over the religious convictions of the majority of his subjects, must remain a matter of conjecture. All that can be said is that it was impossible for Ferdinand. That he was inclined to sweep away Protestantism by fair means or foul is a mere calumny which every fact in the

history of his life contradicts. But it was certain that he would be stopped by no consideration, excepting when he thought that he had reached the utmost limits of the letter of the law; and, wide as those limits were, his own interpretation of them pushed them wider still. And so it was that he went from one step to another, never ceasing to cherish the conviction that, at the very time at which he was in fact the great anarchist of Europe, he was the real foe to anarchy. His expulsion of the Protestants from his hereditary dominions, his confiscation of the privileges of the Bohemians in 1621, his transference of the Electorate to the Duke of Bavaria in 1623, his seizure of the territories secularised by the Peace of Augsburg, by the Edict of Restitution in 1629, were all from his point of view strictly legal measures. The history of the man who for the sake of order let loose the hordes of Wallenstein upon the desolated Empire is probably the most conspicuous example known of the ruin which may be brought down by a narrow and one-sided mind animated by the conscientious belief that his own notions of order and justice are identical with the Divine order of the world. It was his firm belief not only that he was doing God service, but that he was engaged in a beneficial and statesman-like task that enabled him to look calmly from his palace at Vienna upon the unutterable horrors which he was causing, like the Gods of the poet, who

smile in secret, looking over wasted lands,
 Blight and famine, plague and earthquake, roaring deeps, and fiery sands,
 Clanging fights, and flaming towns, and sinking ships, and praying hands.
 But they smile and find a music centred in a doleful song
 Steaming up, a lamentation, and an ancient tale of wrong,
 Like a tale of little meaning, although the words be strong.

If aristocratical Protestantism had been able anywhere to organize itself it would have been in Bohemia. Cut off by a wall of mountains from the rest of Germany, and in a great measure separated

by race from their eastern neighbours, the Bohemians ought to have formed a compact national body able to resist all attempts to dictate to them the acceptance of a religion which they detested. Once already they had shewn what a thoroughly aroused nation is capable of. But that had been in the days which had long passed by, when rich and poor had gathered in brotherly union round the cup as the symbol of equality before God. The gigantic cups still held their places outside the churches to which they had been elevated by a past generation. To be "sub utrâque" was still the official designation of a Protestant. But the spirit of the Old Utraquism had succumbed with its doctrines; and, whatever enthusiasm might be excited by the new Lutheranism which had too often been nothing more than the cloak beneath which the great landowners had thrown off all authority in church and state, it was certain that it was very different from the wild fanaticism which had enabled the followers of Ziska and Procopius to scatter the imperial hosts of Sigismund like chaff before the wind.^a

The revolution which overthrew the tottering throne of Rudolph II., had been a golden opportunity alike for the Protestants and for the

^a Die husitischen Kämpfe sind eine nationale Sache gewesen und die Erinnerung an dieselben verwischte sich nie im Bewusstsein der Nation. Dichter und Maler entlehnten denselben ihren Stoff, einige der trefflichsten Volkslieder datiren aus jenen Zeiten, die Männer jener Bewegung sind stets in Munde des Volke geblieben, und kein Böhmischer Königsname ist je demselben so geläufig geworden als der des blinden Anführers der Husitenheere. Die Husitenzeit bildet den Anknüpfungspunkt an die ältesten aber auch frischesten Traditionen des Volkes und kaum gibt es einen Ort von Bedeutung in Böhmen, über den die Sage nicht ein merkwürdiges Ereignis aus jener Zeit zu erzählen wüsste. Die gewaltsame Umwälzung unter Ferdinand II., die vielen Leiden im österreichischen Successionskriege bei den Einfällen der Preussen, Baiern, und Franzosen sind kaum 100 bis 200 Jahre entfernt, und doch haftet die Erinnerung mit seltener Schwäche an ihnen. In beiden Fällen hat der Landmann nur gelitten, der Gewalt seine Ueberzeugung oder seine Habe zum Opfer gebracht, nie sich zur Wehr gesetzt.— Gindely *Geschichte der Ertheilung des Böhmisches Majestätbriefes*, 116.

aristocracy. By the Royal Charter which was extorted from the falling monarch complete liberty of conscience was accorded to every Bohemian, from the noble to the serf, who adhered either to the Bohemian confession of 1575, or who belonged to the society of the Bohemian brothers. But, as in England, liberty of conscience was not held to imply liberty of worship. On the Royal domains indeed Catholic and Protestant alike were to be allowed to build as many churches as they pleased. But the lords of the soil were not inclined to make the same concession to their dependants. They were themselves to be free from all restraint, but they were to continue as before to regulate the public exercise of the religion of their vassals at their pleasure.

In many respects the principle thus adopted in Bohemia was similar to the *cujus regio ejus religio* which prevailed in Germany. But there was one important difference. The German Princes had virtually become territorial sovereigns, and had taken upon themselves the duties with the responsibilities of sovereignty. The Bohemian nobles were still landowners and nothing more. Their estates were too small, and Constantinople was too near, to render feasible such a change in their position as would place them on an equal footing with an Elector of Saxony or a Landgrave of Hesse. A King of Bohemia must still be retained, but the King was one who was far more opposed to the nobility on every possible point upon which they could come into collision than James II. was to the English people in 1688, or than Charles X. was to the French people in 1830.

Under such circumstances a revolution was inevitable. Either the nobility would set aside the King, or the King would beat down the nobility. At first sight the former contingency might have appeared unavoidable. Three-fourths of the population, and all the military forces of the kingdom, were at the disposal of the

Protestants. They could count on the warm sympathy, if not upon the active aid, of the great landowners in all the other States of which the Austrian dominions were composed. But all this would avail them little unless they could ripen in a moment into wise and forecasting statesmen, and could bow their heads to the stern yoke of discipline and selfdenial by which nations are founded; unless, in a word, men, with all and more than all the failings of the English Cavaliers, could learn to display the virtues of the burghers of Leyden and the Ironsides of Cromwell.

They had already chosen the field of battle upon which the conflict was to be waged. They had suddenly discovered that the tacit permission by which the Royal Charter had accorded the right of controlling the public worship of vassals to the landowners, did not apply to the holders of ecclesiastical domains. These, they argued, were in a position dependent upon the Crown, and the towns upon their domains were therefore to be considered as royal towns, and, as such, freed from the control of the lords of the soil in religious matters. Matthias on the other hand resisted this interpretation of the Charter, and apparently with justice.^a It was indeed a point of vital importance from a political as well as from a religious point of view. The ecclesiastical domains were almost the last supports on which his throne rested, and to be deprived of these was tantamount to surrendering his throne at once to the nobility.

In 1617 a golden opportunity was offered to the Estates of fighting their battle on favourable ground. Ferdinand of Styria was presented to them for their acceptance as their future King. The terms in which the proposition was couched were sufficient

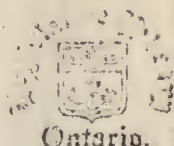
^a That the Protestants were not warranted in their appeal to the Charter, seems to be proved conclusively by Professor Gindely. *Geschichte der Böhmischesen Brüder*, ii. 406 and 507, note 105.

to show that the throne was now to be claimed by hereditary right in virtue of the abolition of their electoral privileges by Ferdinand I. after the rebellion of 1547. As there was much to be said against the validity of that abolition, no better ground for opposition could be afforded. To claim the acknowledgment of their right to a free election, or to refuse to elect the candidate proposed to them unless concessions were made with respect to the ecclesiastical domains, was the course prescribed to them by the simplest rules of political tactics.

Yet knowing as they did what Ferdinand was, and thinking far worse of him than he in reality deserved, the Bohemian nobles threw away the chance which was thus offered to them. In spite of the opposition of a small minority, they accepted him for their Sovereign, without demanding anything more than a general promise to maintain their privileges and to preserve the Royal Charter, to which, as they were well aware, he affixed a signification totally different from their own.

As might have been expected, the Catholics derived fresh courage from the election. At Braunau the Abbot locked up the Protestant church; and at Klostergrube the Archbishop of Prague ordered another church, which was in the course of erection, to be demolished.

The news was received with indignation by the Protestant nobility. The men who had done nothing, and foreseen nothing at the time when foresight would have availed them, burst into fury at what was nothing more than the natural consequence of Ferdinand's election. They flocked to Prague to discuss their grievances in common with the representatives of the towns. Matthias ordered the meeting to be suspended. The deputies of the towns were inclined to obey the mandate, but the nobles were unwilling to draw back. Armed with pistols, and followed by an



excited mob, they made their way, with Count Thurn at their head, into the room in which were seated the members of the Regency to which the government had been entrusted during the absence of Matthias. Was it by their advice, they asked, that the meeting had been suspended. Dissatisfied with the answers which they received, they seized upon Martinitz and Slawata, the most obnoxious members of the Regency, and hurled them, together with their secretary Fabricius, from the window. By a strange fortune, which pious Catholics have been accustomed to attribute to the interposition of Him without whose permission not even a sparrow falls to the ground, the three men who had been precipitated from a height of little less than eighty feet were able to crawl away from the spot on which they fell, and not a single life was lost.

It was a wild deed of vengeance. Precedents of defenestration, as it was termed, were indeed to be found in Bohemian history. But it is not thus that successful revolutions are commenced.

Matthias looked anxiously around for help. Austria and Hungary, Moravia and Silesia, were, as he knew, honeycombed with dissaffection. The Duke of Bavaria, the politic Maximilian, refused to endanger his safety by aiding what seemed to be a falling cause. Spain sent a paltry sum of 100,000 ducats, and talked of sending some day 200,000 more.

The maintenance of the position which had been gained by the Bohemians required other qualities than those which were needed for a raid upon the unarmed Regents. Statesmanlike wisdom and ready submission to discipline could alone bring them safely through the trial which was before them. At home it would be necessary to submit to hardships and privations, to give discipline to the army and regularity to the government, to prove, in a word, by action that they were capable of instituting a political organization

which could secure order, even though Ferdinand and the Jesuits had no share in it.

It was a difficult task. But it was still more difficult to watch the tides of German and European opinion, and to use them as aids to the desired end.

Two different tendencies of thought were the moving agents of the men of the past century, and their influences were still living. On the one hand there had been the spirit of religious fellowship, the conviction that agreement in religion formed the strongest bond of union, and that it called upon all to suffer and to act on behalf of their co-religionists in every part of the world. On the other hand there was the belief in the Divine authority of government against intriguing priests and presbyters, and the conviction that rebellion was in itself an evil. In Germany, at least, the two ideas were divided from one another almost with the accuracy of a geographical distribution. The Lutherans of the North, living far from the sound of strife, and never catching sight of a Roman Catholic priest from one year's end to another, were apt to think lightly of the fears and difficulties of the Protestants of the South, and to preach submission to the existing governments as the one remedy for the evils of the time. At their head stood John George, the Elector of Saxony. He spent his days in hunting, and his nights in deep carouses. If he hated anything at all, in the midst of the easy life which he led, it was war and Calvinism. The politics of his family had always been Imperialist. It was by the favour of one Emperor that his great uncle, Maurice, had become an Elector. It was by the favour of another Emperor that his brother and himself had prosecuted their claims to the Duchy of Cleves. Yet it would be unfair to speak of his Imperialism as if it had been altogether personal and selfish. It resulted in part from the old feeling of attachment to the time-honoured institutions

of the Empire, and from a belief which he shared with the Catholic Princes that in them might still be found a shelter against the anarchy which appeared likely to set in if nothing better than the law of the strongest was to be invoked in the disputes which arose between the members of the Empire. Nor was he without a share in that weariness of religious strife which thirty years later obtained a public recognition at the Peace of Westphalia.

Very different was the position of the Southern Protestants, who, with the young Elector Palatine at their head, formed the main strength of the Union. Wedged in between Catholic Bavaria and the Franconian Bishoprics on the one side, and the Ecclesiastical States upon the Rhine on the other, they lived in daily apprehension of danger. Their talk was ever of war, and in their familiarity with it, it lost all its terrors. Schemes of aggression which would have revolted the common sense of the Northern Germans were lightly talked of in the South, where they appeared to be nothing more than the necessary means of defence against an inevitable attack. Of all men Frederick was most unfitted to preside over the fortunes of such a people. Too thoughtful to allow the world's courses to pass unheeded around him, and too much in earnest to be restrained from sacrificing himself for that which he conceived to be the good of his people and his Church, he was utterly deficient in the wisdom which alone can guide great enterprises to a successful end. He never knew exactly what it was he wanted, and he was unable to understand either the means by which his objects were to be accomplished, or the real nature and strength of the obstacles which stood in his way.

At once there was a divergence between the Courts of Dresden and Heidelberg as to the course to be adopted with respect to the Bohemian revolution. The simple answer of John George to one who asked him what he intended to do was, "Help to put out the

fire." His offer of mediation was thankfully accepted by Matthias, and, as the Elector Palatine expressed his readiness to join him, he was able for some time to flatter himself that his object would be attained.

It is obvious that there were two objects, either of which the Bohemians and their friends might propose to themselves.

They might aim at a confirmation of the Royal Charter by Ferdinand, accompanied by an explanation of it in the sense which they themselves affixed to it.

Or, on the other hand, they might resolve to accept nothing less than the dethronement of Ferdinand and the election of a new King, who would be a puppet in the hands of the Bohemian aristocracy.

The first policy no doubt had its disadvantages. It left the King and the nation still in mutual opposition. It left many questions unsettled which would have, perhaps at no distant day, to be reopened. But it had one great advantage, that it was attainable. It would unite Lutherans and Calvinists, Saxony and the Palatinate, in its defence. An extended religious freedom, guaranteed by all Protestant Germany, was not to be despised, and how effectual such a support would have been is proved by the amount of religious liberty retained by Silesia, even after the catastrophe of 1620, upon the sole guarantee of Saxony.

But if this policy was the best which could be adopted at Prague, how much more was there to recommend it at Heidelberg. It could not be long before the question of the succession to the Empire would have to be settled. That Ferdinand would be chosen was almost a matter of certainty. The only question was whether the election should be preceded by a settlement of the disputes which had so long separated the Princes of the two religions; and the only real difficulty which stood in the way of such a settlement

was the disunion amongst the Protestants caused by the not unfounded belief which prevailed at Dresden that Frederick was careless of exposing Germany to the horrors of war.

Frederick was hopelessly undecided. On the one hand he put himself forward as a mediator. On the other hand he accepted the offer made to him by the Duke of Savoy (p. 4), the restless Charles Emanuel, of some troops under the command of that unprincipled adventurer Count Mansfeld, and sent them secretly to the assistance of the Bohemians. His confidants, the Margrave of Anspach and Prince Christian of Anhalt, went further still. They opened negotiations with the Duke with a view to gain his support. There would be little doubt, they said (p. 5, note *a*), that Charles Emanuel could be elected to the Empire. Frederick was to be King of Bohemia, and a special onslaught was to be made upon the Ecclesiastics in Germany. At first these schemes were kept from Frederick's knowledge. But he soon grew accustomed to listen to them without showing any distaste. A few months afterwards the sharing of the spoil was confidentially discussed at Turin. The Duke thought that he should like to have the kingdom of Bohemia for himself. Frederick, if he pleased, might be King of Hungary. He might annex Alsace to the Palatinate; and, if circumstances proved favourable, he might even lay claim to a portion of Austria for himself.^a That such plans should have been formed at Heidelberg may serve to explain the distrust of Frederick which was entertained at the Court of Dresden.

It was with no little anxiety that the Spanish Government watched the progress of events in Bohemia. They were anxious to uphold the authority of Matthias, and at the same time they shrunk from exposing their ruined finances to a European war. In this difficulty they were eager to discover what part England would

^a Londorp, *Acta Publica*, iii. 596—621.

take, and hints were thrown out to Cottington, the English Agent at Madrid (p. 4, note *a*), that the King of Spain would be glad "that his Majesty should interpose himself for the accommodating of the business of Bohemia."

The policy of James towards Germany had been on the whole a wise one. He had entered into a treaty with the Union, engaging himself to defend the Protestant States in case of attack, and had discountenanced all aggressive projects on the part of his son-in-law.^a But when he received from the Bohemians a request for

^a The following is the letter which he wrote to Frederick on the subject of the approaching election (State Papers, Germany, ^{March 28,} April 7, 1618):

MONSIEUR MON FILS,

We do take it as an assured testimony of your love and respect to us that, as before in other things concerning the estate of the Empire you have made us acquainted with your proceeding, so now in this matter of the Electorall Dyett you desire to have our advise for that which shall concerne your selfe or the Empire. What may be the chiefest scope of that assembly is not yet certainly knowne to us, but as wee have perceaved by former advertisements from your self, and likewise from other places, wee take the end of it to be the election of the King of Bohemia to be King of the Romanes; wherein, for so much as concerneth you and our frends in the Empire, wee are of opinion that the best way to be taken is to avoid any present eleccion, as a matter not being of necessitie during the Emperor's life, and thereby to wynde time and to discerne further into the scope and proceeding of that familie in this warre of Italie, wherein, perhaps, if a principall partie interested be elected to such a place as a King of Romanes holdeth, the Empire may be accidentally and unnecessarily engaged. This wee hold the safest and fittest for the present condition of things, if you shall find such concurrency therein as that it may be effected, and without any speciall offence to yourself alone, if, notwithstanding your endeavours, it cannot be avoided. But, if you shall find their partye so made as that the eleccion cannot be delayed, but will take place, in the second place our opinion is that, because it is very likely that to settle the Empire by this eleccion in their familye they will not sticke to yeald satisfaccion to those who may hinder it, that in giving your consent you make as good conditions for your self and the Princes of the Union, and for the common cause of religion, as you can; wherein, because the particulars are better knowne to you then to us, wee must referre them to your judgement and discretion and the advise you shall receive from other Princes interested in the same cause.

money to enable them to resist persecution (p. 1), and when he was informed by his son-in-law (p. 6) that hostilities had already commenced, and that there was every probability that they would not be confined to Bohemia alone, it was absolutely necessary for him to take some decided resolution in the course which he was to adopt. The determination to which he came was to accept the King of Spain's proposal, and to put himself forward as a mediator. On the one hand (p. 13) he was ready to assist the Bohemians if they were really persecuted for their religion. On the other hand he was unwilling to give them any countenance if they were obstinate in refusing just concessions.

The whole policy of James turned out so ill, and he so thoroughly mismanaged everything that he had to do with, that it is worth while asking whether his errors arose from his general conception of the situation, or from his inability to work out successfully a policy which had been rightly chosen. And if we test his decision, not by any theories about intervention or nonintervention which are generally only the passing forms into which the partial experience of a particular age is apt to throw itself, but by the broad principle that it is the duty of a nation, as it is the duty of an individual, to do all the possible good which can be effected without such evil consequences as shall outweigh the good that is done, we can hardly avoid coming to the conclusion that his view of the case was the right one. That his horror of the wickedness and criminality of a war of religion, a war in which Catholic and Protestant were to be ranged against one another through the whole length and breadth of Europe, was not an unfounded fear can never be doubted by any one who has the faintest conception of what the Thirty Years War really was. Even if we suppose that Matthias and Ferdinand would have steadily refused to yield more than they were ready to promise already, namely, the exact observation

of the Royal Charter according to its literal interpretation, can anyone maintain that the miseries of the Thirty Years War would not be too high a price to pay, simply to secure to certain Bohemians who happened to live on the ecclesiastical domains the right, not of liberty of conscience, which they possessed already, but of liberty of worship, a right which no Protestant Government had ever thought of conceding to their Catholic subjects? Nor is it possible to allow any force to the argument that if James had declared himself in favour of the Bohemians the danger of war would have been averted, because the Catholic powers would at once have given way. Not only would Saxony have been thrown as decidedly as in 1620 into the opposite scale, but there can be little doubt that such a war as that which Frederick and his advisers contemplated, a war of aggression directed upon the ecclesiastical territories on the Rhine, as well as upon Vienna and Milan, would have called down the power of France upon their heads. It does not follow that because at a time when the Imperialists were dominant and when the political danger to France had come into the foreground, Richelieu was able to lead the nation into a hostile attitude against Spain and the Emperor, France would not have joined in defence of the Ecclesiastical principalities if they had been seriously menaced by a European coalition in 1618. Sir Edward Herbert's dispatches written in the following winter, and the conduct of the French ambassadors during the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Ulm, are alike evidence that sympathy with the German Catholics was very strong in France, and that it might easily have been roused to fury by the sight of a war such as that which, with such allies as he had, James would have had to wage if he was to fight at all.

James's real fault then was not in the conception but in the execution of his policy. His ignorance of men and things led him to underrate the difficulty of the work before him, and his vanity

led him to overrate his own power of bringing men to his views by the enunciation of a few truisms. The task which he had imposed upon himself was indeed one which demanded all the abilities of a William III. He had to effect a union between the discordant Courts of Heidelberg and Dresden, to divine the secret machinations of his son-in-law, and to induce him to act in concert with John George in a policy which was not his own: and then, when this was effected, to bring the united weight of Protestant Europe to bear alike upon the proud Bohemian aristocracy and upon their indignant sovereign. It is not likely that in such a work as this even the ablest diplomatist would have succeeded. But it is certain that if James did not mean to attempt this he had better have done nothing, and what was of greater importance still, to have made it clearly understood that he meant to do nothing.

What he did do, was simply fatuous. He proposed to send an ambassador to mediate, without knowing what the merits of the dispute were, and without the most distant idea what were the feelings and passions of the men who were to be called upon to submit to the award of this unexpected umpire. The only comment worthy of this scheme for settling the great controversy of the age with the ease with which the Court of King's Bench settled questions of disputed property is to be found in the few calm and contemptuous lines which Gondomar penned (p. 27) when he heard of the proposal.

The next matter for consideration was the selection of an ambassador. At first the King's choice rested upon Sir Henry Wotton (p. 51), but the appointment was almost immediately revoked in favour of Viscount Doncaster.

Doncaster, the Earl of Carlisle of later years, the "Heliogabalus Hay" of Mr. Carlyle, has been hitherto almost exclusively known as an extravagant spendthrift, as the inventor of the notorious

“double suppers,” and as the husband of the famous Lady Carlisle of the Court of Charles I. The present volume presents him in a different character. It will not indeed show him as a statesman or a diplomatist. But it will allow him to exhibit the powers which enabled him to retain the favour of two sovereigns and what was far more difficult, the favour of their favourite. If his conversation was at all like his letters, he must indeed have been a most pleasing companion. No other despatches of the time form such agreeable reading. The ease of the perfect gentleman, the ready tact of the finished man of the world shine through every line. Nor was it merely to the great and powerful that his politeness was shewn. Two letters of his which have been preserved in the Archives of Venice, but which are of a date too late to be included in the present volume, exhibit his courtesy in the most favourable colours. After taking leave of the Emperor at Gratz in November 1619, he made up his mind to employ a few weeks in a visit to Venice. On the frontier at Pontebba he was stopped at the custom house, and informed that, as he had come from a place where the plague was not extinct, he could not be allowed to proceed. There are probably few tourists at the present day who would nourish very kindly feelings towards the official who might have caused them a similar disappointment. Doncaster’s first thought was to write to the Venetian ambassador at Vienna, begging him to see that the officer suffered no harm from doing his duty.

If the work of mediation had really been what James supposed it to be, a mere arbitration between two parties who were both ready to refer their dispute to the English ambassador, Doncaster’s courtesy and tact would have stood him in good stead. As it was, there was nothing to be hoped for him. What James really needed was a shrewd impartial spectator who would penetrate the real intentions of the various parties in Germany, and would bring him

home a report which would enable him to see clearly what was possible, as well as what was advisable in his future proceedings. But to a character of this kind Doncaster had no pretensions whatever. Like all the Scotchmen of his day he was opposed to the Spanish alliance, and his utter want of those powers which enable some men to divine as if by instinct the truth which is obscured by the jarring passions of men, would be certain to throw him at once into the arms of Frederick and his ministers. He would see with the eyes and think with the thoughts of the Court of Heidelberg. If he had any idea of impartiality when he landed at Calais, he would be a thorough partizan before he left the Palatinate.

We are left to conjecture the causes which led to Doncaster's appointment. Buckingham's favour no doubt had something to do with it, for Doncaster was evidently on the best possible terms with Buckingham, who had, ever since his quarrel with the Howards in the preceding spring, been drawing nearer to the anti-Spanish party.

But it is not impossible that James may have also been influenced by news which reached him from Spain. Preparations were everywhere in hand in the Spanish dockyards for fitting out a large fleet, and it was known that the fleet was to carry a considerable body of troops. The Spaniards protested that the fleet was destined for an attack upon Algiers, and from documents still preserved at Simancas it would appear that, officially at least, an attack upon Algiers which should anticipate the unwelcome assistance of the English contingent which James had offered to send against the Barbary pirates, was in reality in contemplation. But the Venetians, scarcely recovered from the shock of the Bedmar conspiracy in the preceding summer, believed that the expedition was intended for an assault upon Venice, in order to make the captured city a base of operations against the Bohemians. They accordingly appealed to James for

help. James, who had no scruples about going to war for the defence of an actually existing government, showed unusual activity. He ordered the fleet which was intended to co-operate with the Spaniards against Algiers to be at once got ready for sea, and proposed to the Dutch that they should join him with a considerable number of ships, and that the combined fleet should sail with secret orders to turn against their Spanish allies if they saw any appearance of their making sail in the direction of the Gulf of Venice. This offer was declined by the Dutch, who were unwilling to co-operate with the Spaniards under any circumstances whatever. Before James had time to reconsider his position, information reached England that the Spanish preparations had ceased entirely.

Doncaster's appointment therefore was at least coincident with the rise of a feeling against Spain in the mind of James. It took place almost immediately upon the conclusion of the first mission to England of the Baron of Dohna, and upon the renewal of the defensive treaty with the Union. At the same time Dohna's hints as to the possibility of his master being elected as King by the Bohemians were at once checked by James, (p. 33, note *a*) though he seems to have said something about the possibility of his recognizing such an election, if it were made under circumstances which gave it a legitimate character.^a

Doncaster's departure was delayed by the serious illness of the King, and by the news of the death of the Emperor, till the beginning of May. Before he left England, Sir Isaac Wake was despatched to Turin with orders to confer with the Elector Palatine on his way. The object of his mission was to discover whether the project of raising the Duke of Savoy to the Imperial throne was in

^a The actual words used were the subject of controversy between James and his son-in-law in January 1621, and cannot be recovered with any degree of certainty.

reality feasible, and to beg him to consider (p. 109) whether he had sufficient strength to carry out the enterprise which he was reported to be meditating. Wake found that the Duke, who cared far more about annexing Milan or Genoa to his own dominions than he did about the sufferings of the Bohemians, was not inclined to take any further steps to put himself forward as a candidate for the Imperial throne, and that the long intrigue had come to nothing.

Doncaster's instructions so far as they related to the affairs of Germany have not been preserved. Those which refer to Bohemia are now printed for the first time, (p. 64,) but they have only been found in a Spanish translation.

The paper consists of two parts. The first portion is a watery abstract of the Bohemians' own Apology, of which the writer, either from ignorance or in the hope of making out a better case for them than they could for themselves, has thrown his statements into such confusion that it sometimes requires considerable trouble to disentangle the thread of his narrative. Its ingenuousness may be inferred from the fact that the only mention of the defenestration is contained in the statement (p. 68) that the Bohemians had "proceeded against two of the principal men of the contrary faction, namely, Slawata and Martinitz, whom, as disturbers of the public peace, they had deprived of their offices." The second part contains James's own hints for the pacification of Bohemia. To appreciate their ridiculous absurdity, it is only necessary to read them. They could only proceed from the same man who had attempted to put an end to the fierce feuds which raged between his Scottish nobles by the simple process of inviting them to shake hands with one another in his presence.

Of Doncaster's mission it is not necessary to speak further. All that is known of it, so far as relates to the time prior to the election of Ferdinand on the $\frac{1}{4}$ th of August, will be found in the present

volume. It was predestined to failure from the first. But, even if it had ever had a chance of succeeding, much could not be expected from the man whose complimentary language inadvertently characterised his own statemanship, when he informed (p. 132) the Elector Palatine that he had been sent "as a white paper to receive impression from his Highness," and whose amusing report of the effect of the Duke of Bavaria's civilities upon him (p. 146) shows that he was equally capable of being used as a sheet of white paper by others.

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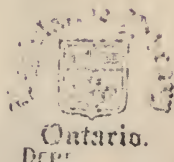
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LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.

No. I.

THE ESTATES OF BOHEMIA SUB UTRAQUE TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Prague, June 8, 1618.]

SERENISSIME et Potentissime Rex et Domine, Domine Clementissime.

Quanquam Vestræ Regiæ Majestati quid diebus præteritis in hoc Regno Bohemiæ contigerit, aliunde innotuisse non ambigimus; nihilo-minus rem, ut gesta est, plenius eandem per literas hasce edocere, ex usu nostro judicavimus. Quod dum facimus, nolumus Maj^{tem} Vest^{am} latere, ab annis compluribus nos solius religionis odio, a popularibus nostris Pontificiis (scelerata illa Jesuitarum secta autore et virulentorum eam in rem consiliorum subministratrice,) miserè afflictos fuisse. Cui rei medendæ, annis abhinc octo a Divo Rodolpho privilegium pro libero religionis exercitio impetravimus, et majoris securitatis ergo cum Pontificiis Ordinibus pacti sumus, ne quis alteri convitiaretur aut minimum offenderet. Sed neque sic nobis satis cavimus. Nam cum prædicationibus tum scriptis evulgatis factio illa Jesuitica et eorum complices nos et religionem nostram liberè proscindere, execrari, et diris devovere, dicto privilegio peregrinum sensum affingere, subditos Regios et Reginæ necnon ecclesiasticos et ordinum religionis pontificiæ fructu ejusdem privare, quin imo et Regi nostro quod sine auctoritate Pontificis Romani (cui nullum in nos, longe minus in Regem nostrum est imperium,)

libertatem religionis nobis largitus sit, litem movere non sunt veriti. Et cum ex voto ipsorum res non succederet, aliam viam sunt ingressi, omnia vi et fraude agere, Regio nomine [... tem]plaa Evangelicorum claudere, recens extracta demoliri, sup[...]^a vincula conjicere, defensores Consistorii et Academiae nostrae praefectos, ne intercederent, minis et rescriptis Regiis abstertere, nostrates in dignitatibus constitutos ob religionem loco movere, et alios homines leves sui dogmatis ipsis sufficere, aliorum cervicibus, aliorum fortunis insidiari, et tantum non caelum terrae miscere.

Nec religionem solam turbare ipsis satis fuit, sed progressi longius regimen politicum invadere, paucis aliquot Pontificiis nostris et patriae juratis hostibus, fascibus Regni demandatis, per eos, nos Evangelicos Ordines, cum Regno hoc, funditus evertere et pessumdare sunt moliti. Quae omnia posteaquam apud nos perpenderemus altius, et in perniciem nostram et patriae conjuratum esse animadverteremus, necessarium duximus, extremis malis extrema adhibere remedia. Quocirca, duos ex illis qui rerum potiebantur e loco quo abusi Regem et Regnum perdere sategerunt, pro merito ipsorum, per fenestram in fossas arcis Pragensis praecipites egimus. Jesuitas vero homines sacerrimos, undiquaque ex hoc Regno, in aeternam pacis et concordiae inter nos status Evangelicos cum Pontificiis stabilendae ergo proscripsimus: Necnon Caesareae Majestatis et patriae ab omni vi hostili defendendae gratia, cum domesticum tum stipendiarium militem cogere decrevimus. Et cum res haec maximè religionem tangat, sacri Romani Imperii Electores et Principes Unitos, si quis ideo se nobis hostem declarare vellet, de auxiliis sollicitavimus. Cum autem et de Regia vestra Majestate certam spem conceperimus, eam pro amore quo erga religionem orthodoxam et purum Dei cultum accensa est, nobis uti necessitas urserit opitulari non dedignaturam; Ea propter submissee precamur, ne Reg. Va Majas sinistris de nobis rumoribus fidem adhibeat: Quia si quis in nos ob religionem hostili animo insurgere voluerit, ex Regio suo

^a The paper is torn where these omissions occur.

ærario nobis certam summam pecuniæ (Deo rebus nostris favente) a nobis reddendam m[utu]are,^a et tanquam defensor fidei nos tutari, et omni clementia et favore suo prosequi clementissime dignetur. Id quod nos devotissime erga Regiam Maj^{tem} Ves^{am} demereri studebimus: Et Regiæ Vestræ Majestati salutem longævum, successus in rebus gerendis prosperos, et perpetuam ex hoste victoriam a Deo ter Opt. Max. exoraturi sumus. His Reg. V^{am} Ma^{tem} cum serenissima Regina, et inclyta prosapia, atque [subject]is^a ejusdem universis, clientelæ DEI omnipotentis supplices commendamus. Datum in Arce Pragensi xvi. Junii stylo novo. Anno M.DC.xviii.

Regiæ Vestræ Majes^{ti}
devotissimi

Barones, Equites, Pragenses, Cutteni, et cæteræ
Civitates, omnes tres Ordines inclyti Regni
Bohemiæ, Evangelici sub utraque.^b

No. II.

FRANCIS COTTINGTON^c TO SIR THOMAS LAKE.^d [Extract.]

[State Papers. Spain.]

[Madrid, $\frac{\text{June } 25,}{\text{July } 5,}$ 1618.]

THE stirrs in Bohemia were speedily advertised hither, and with it they are here nott a little trobled; as they who alreadie grone under the excessive charge and expence which they are dayly at for

^a The paper is torn where these omissions occur.

^b "Prague, Cuttenberg, and the other cities," was the official phrase for the royal towns. To this letter no answer was returned.

^c Agent at Madrid.

^d Secretary of State.

the subsistence of those Princes of Austria, and espetically this King of Bohemia.^a

No. III.

SIR ISAAC WAKE^b TO JAMES I. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Savoy.]

[Turin, July 13, 1618.]

THAT your Majestie may further see the devotion this Prince hath unto your service and the desire wherewith he is inflamed to requite in part the obligations he doth owe unto your Majestie for your royall protecting his person and howse; as sone as hee understood that the affaires of Germany did beginne to be imbroyled, and that some dangerous innovation was threatened in those parts, he did give me in charge to dispatch a currier expressly unto the Prince Pallatine, and to make offer unto him of two thousand men payd and defrayed, under the conduct of the Count Ernest Mansfelt, who hath express order from this Duke to serve the Prince Elector with his Regiment wheresoever his Highness shall be pleased to employ him for the defence of the publique libertye.

It doth fall out very happily that these troopes are at this present within three days jorney of the Palatinate, as having marched out of the state of Berne shortly after the restitution of Vercelli, with pur-

^a Upon the receipt of certain letters from Mr. Cottington to the Lord Digby and Sir Thomas Lake, bearing date the 9th of August, 1618, "signifying how willing that kinge would be that his Ma^{tie} should interpose himself for the accomodating of the busines of Bohemia, His Majesty commaunded Mr. Secretary Naunton to write to Mr. Cottington that his Ma^{tie} could be content to employe himself therein so as he might be directly assured that it was a thinge hartely desired by the Kinge of Spayne."

The 3rd of September "his Ma^{tie} sendeth the grievances of the Bohemians into Spayne."
—Notes by Sir Robert Naunton, Sept. 10th 1619. State Papers. Germany.

^b Ambassador at Turin.

pose to retire unto theyr howses after the 24 July by this account, at which time theyr month did expire; and they were to receave their last pay. But upon the newes of the troubles threatened in Germany the Duke of Savoy hath retayned these troupes for a longer time, and he hath anticipated theyr paye for the month of August, that they may be the more willing to serve whersoever the Prince Palatine shal thinke fitt to employ them.^a

^a The offer was thankfully accepted. With what views it was received may be judged by the tone of a memoir drawn up by the Margrave of Anspach and the Prince of Anhalt for the instruction of Mansfeld and Dohna, who were to be sent in August on a special mission to the Duke of Savoy. The Duke, they were told, had held out hopes that the Venetians might be induced to arm 16,000 men for the German Protestants, and they were to ask the Duke to do what he could with that object.

"Ils diront aussy à S. A. de Savoye que les intentions pour lesquelles cet armement particulierement pourroit estre employé consisteront en ces trois evenemens. Assavoir: 1. Ou pour conservation du fait de Boheme et ce qui en depend. 2. Ou sur un evenement tres considerable d'un Vicariat. 3. Ou pour l'accommodement des gravames des Protestans en l'Empire. Et qu'autrement il ne falloit rien entreprendre mal à propos et hors de saison. En tous ces trois evenemens il est quasi impossible qu'il n'arrive pas qu'estant armé, on n'entreprene aucunement sur les Ecclesiastiques et la prestraille, non seulement à cause qu'ils sont fort contraires à ce party à [et?] vrays auteurs des griefs et des augmentations intolerables de l'Empire, mais aussy qu'il seroit impossible de nourrir noz gens de guerre sur nos mesme terre, et nous laisser manger d'eux."—Londorp, *Acta Publica*, iii. 599.

A separate memoir, apparently kept from the knowledge of the Elector, is still more worth reading:—

"Ils diront à S. A. de Savoye comme tout ce qui a esté compris dans le precedent memorial, s'est fait avec l'advis et adveu de S. A. Monseigneur l'Electeur Pal. le quel lesd. deux Princes tiennent fort excusable, que son Altesse ne se declare plus ouvertement. Mais voyans la presente occasion, ils tiennent pour certain, que rien assuérera et certifiera plus l'intention de S. A. de Savoye que l'armement proposé, outre le particulier, dont Monsieur le Comte de Mansfelt a en charge empresse, principalement si cela pourroit estre employé pour obtenir la Couronne de Boheme pour S. A. Palatine encores que les envoyez peuvent assuérer le Duc que l'Electeur y soit fort peu porté, tant pour son naturel tresmodeste qu'aussy pour les considerations d'estat qui pourront estre représenter de bouche. Neanmoins ils pourroyent faire entendre comme les estats de Boheme y sont extremement portez, et que les difficultez pour Ferdinand sont evidents. Si doncques S. A. parvenoit par la seule aide de Savoy à lad. couronne, infalliblement il faudroit reconnoître le bien-faiteur led. Duc de Savoy, et luy estre tant plus obligé, joint qu'en tel cas il

No. IV.

FREDERICK V., ELECTOR PALATINE, TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

SIRE,

[Heidelberg, September 10, 1618.]

Encores que je ne doute pas que Vostre Ma^{te} n'ayt esté jusques icy bien informée des occurrences de l'Empire et singulierement des affaires du Royaume de Boheme: Si est-ce que je n'eusse pas differé si long temps à vous donner advis particulier du train d'icelles n'eust esté que pour me tant mieux acquiter de ce mien devoir je m'avoy proposé d'envoyer vers V. Ma^{te} le S^r Baron Dona, l'un de mes conseillers, sur ce sujet et autre; mais, voyant ce voyage estre aucunement reculé par divers empeschemens survenus inopinément, j'ay estimé n'estre hors de propos, ains chose convenable d'y supplier cependant par cestes, et représenter à V. Ma^{te} qu'incontinent apres avoir apperceu que lesdits affaires de Boheme commençoient a s'en-aigrir de plus en plus, j'ay contribué conjointement avec Monsieur l'Electeur de Saxe tout mon possible envers Sa Ma^{te} Imp^{le}, tant par

auroit moyens et puissance, de la pouvoir faire, ayant deux voix au College des Electeurs et y pourroit joindre fort aisement celle de Monseigneur l'Electeur de Brandeburg, qui depend de luy entierement, et joindre encor à soy une des Ecclesiastiques comme Treves, par le moyen d'Angleterre et de Messeigneurs les Estats. Et estant armé, ce la s'entr'aideroit sans doute ainsy qu'il ne faudroit attendre autre chose que la benediction de Dieu pour accomplissement de lad. intention. . . . Et en ce cas sera difficile voir inevitable qu'on entreprisse contre les Ecclesiastiques et Prestres qui tous son Espagnolisez et procurent la monachie Espagnole. . . . Il faudra aussy dire à S. A. de Savoye qu'encor que le fait ne doit estre du tout dissimulé envers le Roy de la Gran Bretagne, qu'il faudra necessairement aller fort sobrement du commencement pour les causes qu'ils diront de bouche, et feront aussy entendre que la Baron est prest d'estre envoyé bien tost en Angleterre et par les pais bas, et montreront à S. A. la connexité et dependance avec l'opportunité de la d. negotiation."—Londorp, iii. 601.

Mansfeld was required to command the troops in Bohemia, and Dohna was not sent to Turin till October. The next letter was written by the Elector to explain the delay in his mission to England.

lettres que par envoy, à ce qu'il luy pleust se servir de la voye de douceur et de quelque interposition, pour composer à l'aimable et non par la violence des armes, dont l'évenement ne peut estre qu'incertain et pernicieux, le differens suscité entr'elle et les Estats dudit Royaume par quelques malaffectionnez, et ce à la suggestion des Jesuites, qui pour ceste cause en ont esté dechassez. Les Estats de Silesie, et autres, ont fait les mesmes devoirs envers sadite Ma^{te} Imp^{le}, laquelle a fait ceste declaration, qu'elle n'avoit dessaggreable de deferer à une interposition, pourvue que les Estats de Boheme posent premierement les armes: se soubmettent au bon plaisir de sadite Ma^{te}: se deportent de toute conduite de gouvernement: et restituent toutes choses en leur premier estat, sadite Ma^{te} ayant en ce cas designé pour entremetteurs Messieurs les Electeurs de Saxe, de Mayence, Duc de Baviere et Moy: adjoutant qu'en defaut de ces conditions elle ne pouvoit, sans diminution manifeste de son autorité, laisser du tout impunie la desobeysance commise envers elle. Mais parce qu'il y a apparence que lesdits Estats, qui de tout temps pretendent des privileges particuliers de liberté, immunité, et autres confirmez par les Empereurs et Roys de Boheme; et specialement une concession et octroy du libre exercice de leur religion, à eux renouvelé et donné en termes encors plus forts par le feu Empereur Rudolph de glorieuse memoire, et du depuis confirmé par serment en l'assemblée des-dits Estats par l'Empereur moderne, ne descendront pas si aysement ausdites conditions, veu principalement que jusques icy ils ont protesté n'avoir rien attenté, ni eu volonté d'attenter chose quelconque, contravenante au respect et fidelité deue à sadite Ma^{te} comme à leur Roy, ains seulement de maintenir et conserver leurs vies, liberté et exercice de leur religion conformément audit octroy imperial, à l'encontre de ceux qui par malveillance et surprise employoient toutes sortes d'artifices et de ruses pour les en priver. Les desseings d'iceux s'estants desja avancez jusques-la, non seulement que d'empescher et fermer, mais aussi que de demolir actuellement certains nouveaux temples qu'on y avoit bastis en

vertu et suite dud^t octroy imperial et à quoy les pays de V. Ma^{te} mesme avoient conferé leur charité et liberalité. Ceste procedure, fomentée come dit est par les Jesuites, ayant fait le commencement des troubles que s'en sont ensuivis: il est fort à craindre qui lesdites affaires ne se portent du tout aux extremitez de quelque dangereuse tragedie et triste effusion de sang: et ce dautant plus, que l'armée de sadite Ma^{te} Imp^{le}, estant desja entrée dans le dit royaume, y a exercé quelques actes d'hostilité, et que d'autre costé les Bohemiens sont aussi assez bien pourvus tant de gens de guerre souldoyez que de l'assistance de la noblesse et des gens du pays, outre ce que lesdits Estats de Silesie, en vertu des pacts de confederation hereditaire, ont promis de leur porter secours au cas que l'on continue à les persecuter et chercher leur ruyne. De sorte que si la resolution, le bon conseil, et le bon ordre, requis en telles entréfaites ne leur manquent, il semble selon le jugement d'aucuns qu'ils seront bastants pour se defendre une espace de temps. Et comme il importe grantement à toute la Germanie et singulierement à tous les Princes et Estats Protestants que lesdits Estats de Boheme ne soient opprimez ni depouillez de leur liberté et exercice de leur religion, aussi n'a-on pas obmis d'y employer jusques icy tous bons offices autant qu'il a esté possible sans alterer le repos public, ni provoquer ceste guerre contre lesdits Protestants. Pour à quoy adviser encores plus meurement, et deliberer des affaires publiques de l'Empire, j'ay esté conseillé de convocquer une Assemblée des Unis en la Ville de Rodemburg pour le 27^e de ce mois, ou de ma part je feray tous devoirs possibles pour le bien commun, et apres la tenüe d'icelle communiqueray plus amplement sur ce sujet avec V. Ma^{te}, m'assurant que si par la continuation des armes, ces feux allumez en Boheme portoient leurs flammes plus avant (selon qu'il est bien certain si les conseils de la Maison d'Austriche y sortissent leurs effects) Vostre Ma^{te}, qui m'a fait prendre ceste confiance filiale de sa bienveillance paternelle envers moy, ne m'abandonneroit pas en un cas de besoing, et ains qu'il luy plairoit me departir son prudent conseil et me prester sa favorable

assistance, ayde et secours, c'est ce dont se supplie Vostre Mat^e tres humblement. Consideré qu'estant, à raison du Palatinat supérieur, le plus proche voisin du Royaume de Boheme et par consequent du danger (ainsi que par cydevant je l'ay desja fait exposer à V. Mat^e), et mesme le plus envié, tant à cause de la religion de laquelle je fay profession avec V^{re} Mat^e qu'à cause de la direction de l'Union, que come vous sçavez lesdits Princes et Estats Protestants m'ont fait l'honneur de me deferer, j'ay le plus de besoing d'estre sur mes gardes. Vostre Mat^e s'obligera de plus en plus toute ceste Maison, et je n'auray rien plus en recommandation que de m'en rendre vrayment reconnaissant par la bienhumble et filiale obeyssance que jay voüée à vostre service, à laquelle je rapporteray toutes mes actions, y disposeray des miens, et feray paroistre en toutes occasions avec combien de zele et d'affection je suis et demeure à jamais,

Sire,

De V. Ma^{ste},

De Heydelberg le

Tresobeissant fils et serviteur,

10^e Septembre, 1618.

FRIDERIC, E. P.

NO. V.

FRANCIS COTTINGTON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.*

[State Papers. Spain.]

[Madrid, September 4th 1618.]

MAY it please your Honour,

I have receaved your letters of the 9th and the 11th of August, the first giving me directions and his Ma^{ts} pleasure touching the

* Secretary of State.

business of Bohemia, the other acquainting me with the escape which Sr Walter Raleigh intended.

Upon receipt of this your honour's letters I repaired ymediatly to the Escurial, where I found the King readie to have taken his coach to have gone a hunting to a parke of redd deare he had about a league and a halfe from thence. But, having acquainted the Sec^{rie} Ciriça with my desire of audience, and with all that I had somewhat to say about the troubles in Bohemia, His Ma^{tie} was pleased to call for me before he came down.

I first took notice of the message and commandment I had receaved from the mouth of the Sec^{rie} Ciriça some few days past in his Ma^{ties} name (which I advertised in my last letters to my Lo. of Buckingham,) touching the troubles in Bohemia, and then acquainted him that I had now receaved directions and comaundment from the King my master to lett his Ma^{tie} understand, that, howsoever those people who had taken armes against the King of Bohemia pretended to have been forced thereunto, for the safeguard both of their lives and estates, and to prevent the execution of a cruell massacre intended against them meerly for their religion, which being the same the King my master professeth he could neither with the saftie of his honor or conscience leave them to be consumed by the sword, if what they pretended and alleadged were true, yet such was his respect to the generall peace and quiet of Cristendom and to the perfect freindship and brotherly amitie which he held and professed towards his Ma^{tie} (who in respect of his nearness of blood to the King of Bohemia held himselfe so farr interested in the business) as he was resolved to use his utmost endeavours and to interpose his best credit and autoritie for compounding the difference (with that honour and safetie of both parties as was fitting) if he should fynd the same disposition and inclynation in his Ma^{tie}, of which he nothing doubted, and soe I proceeded according to the tenor of your honor's letter; all which the King tooke extraordinary well, and sayd that the King of Great Britaine did every way give

good demonstrations of his affection to the peace and quiett of Cristendome, and that he himself did well understand the obligations he had in his own particular unto his Ma^{tie}, and so willed me for myne answere to attend the Sec^{ry} Ciriça, with whom I had the next day following a large discourse about the busines. He told me that what the Bohemians pretended touching any massacre intended against them was a meere cavill and without ground. That their rebellion against their King and Sovereigne was evident to all the world, and therefore till they did make appeare some just cause for it they must necessarily be held for traytors and rebels. He sayd he would show me a letter from Rome by which it should appeare that amongst the Cardinal Glessellius^a papers were found divers letters from the principall leaders of this rebellion to the sayd cardinall corresponding with him touching their treason, and that the cardinall had been so far from plotting anything against them as he might rather be held the nourisher and author of that rebellious disposition in them. But when (he sayd) it should be granted that he had delt doibly with those people, and plotted (as was given out) a massacre against them, yet his imprisonment and punishment did sufficiently cleere the King of Bohemia from having any hand in it, and might also give satisfaction to those people, especially having now been so often invited and called by the Emperour and their King, both by letters and proclamations, to exhibit their complaints and receive justice, the very refusall whereof made their offence inexcusable. Much to this effect he sayd unto me, desiring me to represent it unto the King my master; but not to understand it as my full answere to what I had now sayd, for that he would speake with the King, and then lett me understand his pleasure.

I acquainted the Sec^{rie} with the escape which S^r Walter Raleigh intended to have made, as alsoe with his apprehention and imprisonment againe in the Tower; and withall, that, not to detaine his Ma^{tie}

^a Cardinal Klesel, formerly prime minister of the Emperour Matthias.

from his sports, I had not imparted it to him. He said he was sorry I had not told the King of it, but that he would instantly tell it him, for that he knew it would be wellcome newes to him.

All other occurrants of this place I have now advertised unto Mr. Sec^{rie} Lake; and so, with remembrance of my dutie unto your honour, I committ you to God's holy protection.

Your honour's to be comaunded,

FRA. COTTINGTON.^a

Madrid, this 17th

Sept. 1618. stilo vet.

[N.] R^d from Mr. Vice Chamberlain,^b

x^o Octobris, 1618, late.

NO. VI.

FRANCIS COTTINGTON TO SIR THOMAS LAKE. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Spain.]

[Madrid, ^{September 26,}
October 6, 1618.]

THEY have here made now a new assiento with the Genoveses for 500 thousand ducketts, of which 300 thousand are to be payd in Germany, and the rest in Mylan, butt all is for the helpe and assistance of the King of Bohemia. By which your honour may perceave how much they take that business to hart, yet on the other side they labour by all wayes possible to compound it by faire meanes, as that which eles is likely to cost them many millions.

^a "The first of October following, the Marquis of Buckingham was commaunded by his Ma^{tie} to write unto Mr. Cottington that he should let the King of Spaine know that his Ma^{tie} was very glad to understand that he was likewise willing that those businesses should be friendly accommodated. — Notes by Sir Robert Naunton, Sept. ¹⁰/₁₀ 1619. — State Papers, Germany.

^b Sir John Digby.

No. VII.

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE COUNT OF GONDOMAR.

[Extract.]

[Archives of Simancas, 2598, fol. 114.]

September 30, 1618.
October 10,

Su Mag^d Catolica ha pedido al Rey mi señor que haga buenos officios en este negocio, y su Mag^d ha prometido de hazer en ello (muy honrradamente) todo quanto pudiere y fuere in su mano, y de acabar el negocio con paz y quietud si los Bohemios le oyeron y si quieren su consejo; y de otra manera, en caso que sean obstinados y pertinazes los dichos Bohemios, pedira a su hierno y a los demas Principes de la Union en Alemania que no les den ayuda ni asistencia ninguna, y procurara que assi lo hagan; pero confiesa su Mag^d a V. E. que se olgara mucho que los Bohemios se conformasen con lo que fueso justo, y sentiria en sumo grado (por la conformidad que tienen con el en la religion) el ver los destruydos y arruyanados en caso que se conformasen con la razon.

His Catholic Majesty has requested the King my master to use his good offices in the business of the Bohemians, and His Majesty has promised (very honorably) to do all that he can and that lies in his power, and to finish the business peaceably and quietly, if the Bohemians will listen to him, and are willing to have his advice. And on the other hand, in case he finds the Bohemians obstinate and pertinacious, he will beg his son-in-law and the other Princes of the Union in Germany not to give them aid or assistance of any kind, and he will procure that they act in this manner; yet His Majesty confesses that he will be very glad if the Bohemians conform to what is just, and that he will feel it very deeply (on account of their conformity with him in religion) if he sees them destroyed and ruined in case they conform to what is reasonable.

LETTERS ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONS

No. VIII.

FREDERICK V. ELECTOR PALATINE TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Heidelberg, October $\frac{8}{18}$, 1618.]

SIRE,

Par mes precedentes, qui estoient du 10^e de Septembre dernier, V. Ma^{te} aura entendu plus particulièrement l'estat present des affaires de Boheme. Celles-cy sont pour vous donner advis qu'en l'Assemblée des Princes et Estats du St. Empire unis, tenue ces jours passez en la ville de Rotembourg, tant sur ce sujet qu'autres occurrences publiques de la Germanie, a esté meurement consideré combien sont interessées toutes les Eglises Evangeliques en la cause de celles dudict Royaume. C'est pourquoy en ladite Assemblée on n'a rien obmis de tous ce qui peut servir à moyener un accommodement amiable desdites affaires : lesdits unis ayant entre autres representé fort viviment par lettres à sa Ma^{te} Imp^{le} les dangereux evenemens que peuvent trainer apres soy les grandissimes extremitez ausquelles les choses sont portées par ceux qui visent plus à l'agrandissement d'autrui, qu'à l'affermissement du regne, et manutention de l'autorité et reputation de sa dicte Ma^{te} quoy que pour parvenir à leur but ils se couvrent du nom d'icelle. Estant à craindre que si sa Ma^{te} Imp^{le} ne defere à la douceur et ne donne lieu à quelque interposition, sans vouloir obliger les Estats de Boheme si estroitement aux conditions que j'ay specialisées à V. Ma^{te} en mesdites precedentes, il s'en pourroit ensuivre de pernicioeux mouvements en plusieurs endroits, capables de mettre en combustion toute la Germanie. Les autres Princes et Estats Evangeliques ont esté pareillement exhortez de contribuer de leur part tout leur possible à faciliter cest accommodement tant

nécessaire. Mais d'autant que ces extremités sont fomentées par autres que par sadite Ma^{te} Imp^{le}, il y a apparence, que si Dieu ne suscite au plustot quelque bon expedient pour pacifier le tout, l'armée Imperiale qui est desja entrée dedans ledit royaume et y a (sans doute contre l'intention de sadite Ma^{te}) exercé et commis divers excez de cruauté non ouïe entre les Chrestiens, pourroit s'y loger pour y passer l'hyver, et puis sur le printemps se renforcer et à l'aide des estrangers recommencer a persecuter les Estats de Boheme, lesquels seroient par ce moyen contraincts d'entretenir sans interval leur armée, et se consumer eux-mesmes par fraiz insupportables, jaçoit que jusques icy ils ayent par une courageuse resistance empesché une bonne partie des progres que ladite armée Imp^{le} se permettoit. Ces considerations fondées sur l'importance doivent convier tous ceux que affectionnent le bien et repos public, et sur tout la conservation des Eglises Evangeliques de la Germanie, à y avoir l'œil, et veiller au danger qui les menace: et, scachant de quel zeile V^{re} Ma^{te} a acoustumé d'embrasser la cause de la vraye religion, mesme ayant esté adverti particulierement de ses bonnes intentions à employer son entremise en cesdites affaires de Boheme, je la supplie bien humblement qu'il luy plaise de faire, tant envers sadite Ma^{te} Imp^{le} que en toutes autres part qu'elle jugera selon sa prudence, toute sorte de bons offices utiles à l'acheminement et entretenement d'une bone paix, et à la conservation des pauvres Eglises dudit royaume de Boheme, puisqu'elle est si importante à toutes celles de la Chrestienté (lesdits unis ayants prise resolution de n'abandonner lesdits Estats de Boheme,) au cas que sans donner lieu à la douceur on voulust continuer de recercher et poursuivre la totale ruyne d'iceux. Et singulierement je reitereray icy la bien-humble priere, que j'ay desja faite à V. Ma^{te} de me tendre la main de son assistance paternelle et bon conseil, au cas que ceste Maison, laquelle, tant à raison de la religion dont elle fait profession, est la plus proche du danger qui en peut rejaillir, en eust besoin. En quoy V. Ma^{te} s'obligera de plus en plus le public, et moy particu-

lièrement à luy en rendre bienhumbles services. Priant le Createur
vous avoir,

Sire, en sa digne protection et sauvegarde.

De Heydelberg, le 8^e d'Octobre, 1618.

De V. Ma^{te}.

Tresobeissant fils et serviteur,

FRIDERIC, E. P.

No. IX.

FRANCIS COTTINGTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Spain.]

[Madrid, October ⁸/₁₈, 1618.]

The broiles in Bohemia are here much taken to heart, and this Kinge professeth that he will understand that busines as his owne quarell, and as anything that concernes him nearest, both in respect of his alliance in blood unto the King of Bohemia, as also in regard of the Emperour and the Empire when the cause of religion did nothing move him. Nevertheles he hath ben pleased to move the Kinge our maister for his best assistance in making some faire composition, and without efusion of blood, which he seemes most to affect and labour, but with a protestacon to sett his rest on it, if nothing but the sword may compound the difference. I have been required thus to represent this King's desires and intention unto his Ma^{tie}, which accordingly I have performed, and receaved so good an answer declaring his Majesty's willingnes to mediat a peace, and hath given here no small contentment.

No. X.

THE ESTATES OF BOHEMIA SUB UTRAQUE TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Prague, ^{October 24,}
November 3, 1618.]

SERENISSIME et Potentissime Rex, Domine, Domine Clementissime.

Constat Regiæ Magistati vestræ, et toti orbi Christiano, quomodo Deo, pro sua immensa misericordia annis ab hinc plusquam ducentis, per Johannem Hussum placuerit majores nostros invisere, et, inter densissimas tenebras Papatus, luce Evangelii sui illuminare. Cujus sane lucis igniculos idem Hussus noster discipulus Johannis Wiclefi inde in Boemiam nostram transtulit, et quidem tali progressu, ut facta admiranda in Boemia repurgatione, ea deinceps etiam in aliis regnis et regionibus Europæis subsecuta sit, excitatis a Deo singularibus organis, et magnis Ecclesiæ luminibus, quæ veluti universum orbem Christianum propagarunt. Ac mira sane res est: cùm olim florente Papatu Pontifex Romanus distribueret titulos inter reges Christianos, sic ut Regem Galliæ titulo Christianissimi, Hispaniæ Catholicissimi, et Regem Angliæ Defensoris fide, ornaret: id quod nunc demùm sub hac luce Evangelii, vere in Majestate Vestra, pro summis donis in eam collatis, singulari Dei providentia conspicitur, nimirum insignis non modo zelus propagandæ veritatis divinæ, sed etiam indefessum studium tam ad sanctam concordiam et unionem inter omnes Evangelicos conciliandam et stabiliendam, quàm ad succurrendum illis consilio et auxilio, contra eos, qui veritatem Evangelicam premere et opprimere, sanctamque concordiam, ad promovendum suum terrestre imperium, evertere nituntur. Ac si ullo seculo, certè nunc Sathan per Jesuitas, organa sua, locustas nimirum illas in Apocalypsi prædictas, miris artibus, hoc aggressus et in hoc iniquitatis et hypocriseos mysterio ab illis administrato, longè latè-

que progressus est. Experta hoc est etiam Boemia nostra statim ab initio istius Sectæ Jesuiticæ donec tandem post multa certamina, singulari Dei providentia, à Rudolpho Secundo, Imperatore et Rege nostro, beatæ memoriæ, non modo libertas Religionis nobis Evangelicis concessa, sed etiam diplomate Cæsario stabilita, et a moderno etiam Cæsare Domino nostro clementissimo sollenniter confirmata, sanctaque pax et libertas Religionis inter nos Evangelicos sub utraque et Pontificios sub una vulgo nominatos erecta fuit. Quam sanè pacem hæc mala, clàm et palàm evertere, et nos jugo Pontificis subdere conata sit, et quomodo machinationibus illorum, Deo ita disponente et auxiliante, a nobis obviatum fuerit, Apologia nostra brevis, tùm etiam proscriptio Jesuitarum, quod utrumque Maj^{ti} Vestræ mittimus, demonstrat. Unde urgente extrema necessitate, defensiva arma, contra adversarios solùm nostros (excipiendo semper allacriter Sac^{am} Cæs^{am} Maj^{tem} Dominum nostrum clementissimum) apprehendere coacti sumus. De quibus omnibus, etsi tam Sac^{am} Cæs^{am} M^{tem} tam Sacri Romani Imperii Electores, Principes, et Respublicas, non destitimus luculentissimè informare, adeò ut nobis id ut antea sic etiamnum unicè expetentibus, veluti Imperii membro, spes facta sit, componendorum istorum motuum per interpositionem Electorum et Principum Imperii, tamen, instigantibus malis consiliariis, exercitus Cæsaris, præter opinionem nostram, et spem nobis factam, ingressus Boemiam, eam ferro igneque, nec sexui, nec ætati, nec ipsis infantibus parcendo, vastarit, et adhuc vastare non desinit: idque sub hoc prætextu a malis consiliariis conficto, et passim in vulgus sparso non agi hic de impedienda religionis libertate, sed de coercendis castigandisque rebellibus. Qua in re et coram Deo, et mundo universo, injuriam nobis faciant acerbissimam. Id quod non modo patet ex Apologia nostra, sed etiam ex litteris quas Unio Sacri Romani Imperii ad Sac^{am} Cæs^{am} M^{tem} dedit, tum etiam ex Silesiorum, Regno Bohemiæ incorporatorum, responso (quos adversarii a nobis sub hoc jam dicto prætextu separare, imo eosdem ad arma

contra nos capessenda hortari nitebantur) plusquam satis demonstratur: quæ duo scripta Maj^{ti} V^{ræ} etiam mittenda censuimus: in quibus quoque innocentiae nostræ testimonium, cujus jam supra meminimus, probatur. Hæc cum ita se habeant, hocque unicum ab adversariis agatur modo, ut, redactis nobis sub jugum horrendum Pontificium, Monarchia Pontificia, quam tantoperè quidam affectant, promoveatur; invigilandum omninò nobis erat, et imploranda consilia et auxilia, ab iis quos Deus nutricios, Patronos, et Defensores Ecclesiæ suæ constituit. Inter quos siquidem Vestra Regia Majestas, divina ita disponente providentia, primum locum in Orbe Christiano obtinet, ut non modò titulo tenus, sed re ipsa Defensor fidei et Religionis Christianæ sit, non desinimus eandem, quæ par est submissione, humillimè exorare: ut et nobis in hoc perturbatissimo et periculosissimo rerum nostrarum statu, in quo jam ad extrema devenit, suo consilio et auxilio, divina favente gratia, succurrere dignetur: præsertim cum tanta sit adversariorum nostrorum præsumptio, ut innixi auxilio, quod illis etiam ex remotissimis locis a confœderatis ipsorum, et milite, et pecunia (quæ est nervus rerum gerendarum) cum spe continuationis diuturni belli, promittitur, non modò nobis Boemis libertatem serviendi Deo, ex præscripto verbi ejus, adimant, sed etiam longius in Europam propositum hoc suum turbandi et apprimendi alios Evangelicos promoveant. Verum qualiter omnibus temporibus Deus talium hostium Christi, et Evangelii ejus, consilia perversa detexerit, et in nihilum redegerit, ut alia innumera exempla prætereamus, testis est ætate nostra c[lassis^a] illius navalis Hispanicæ stupendæ (Regni Angliæ sceptrum tunc prudentissimè mod[erante^a] Elizabetha Regina beata memoriæ, cujus hæredem Deus Vestram Regiam Majesta[tem esse^a] voluit) dissipatio: ubi sicuti Theodosio Magno Imperatori, sic dilectis Deo in Ang[liam] mi[gr]abat æther, et conjurati veniebant ad classica venti. Testis est ad hunc usque diem in tota Europa singularis illa

^a Filled up by conjecture, the paper being torn.

divina providentia et potentia, in excitando subinde pio aliquorum zelo, qui sese iniquis Pontificiorum et inquietis consiliis machinationibusque opponunt, ad conservandam orthodoxam doctrinam, et pacem publicam, erigendamque inter Evangelicos sanctam et firmam concordiam. Excitavit Deus ad id et Vestram Regiam Majestatem, quam singularibus donis suis ornavit, regna ejus auxit, unione sancta cum iis qui Deum in spiritu et veritate colere eique servire adnuntuntur conjunxit. Cum autem et nobis divina gratia datum sit, esse una cum illis quoque unita in vera Christi fide membra, idque sub certa spe futuræ gloriæ, in et per Christum Theantropion in nobis revelandæ; cum Deus verax in suis promissis, et admirabilis in sanctis suis, qui Evangelio ejus crediderunt, conspicietur: ne de[se^a]re quæsumus, Potentissime Magnæ Britanniæ Rex, [nos] vera et orthodoxæ fidei, cujus Ver^{am} Reg^{am} M^{tem} Deus Defensorem constituit, participes; sed consilio et auxilio nobis, præsertim pecunia mutuo data, succurrito: ne deficientibus legitimis mediis, nunc inter horrendas tempestates, quas Sathan apud nos per sua organa excitavit, nos præda hostium facti, omni libertate exercendæ puræ religionis privemur, atque ita lux illa Evangelii, quam nostri majores, uti jam supra dictum est, ab Anglis, veraci e[t i^a]mmoto verbo Dei fundatam, mutuati sunt, iterum densissimis Papatus tenebris obscuratur, vel obruatur; et hinc hæc res aliis regnis et regionibus ecclipsin aliquam adferat. Communia certe imminent pericula; unde communia quoque contra hæc maturè adhibenda remedia; et quidem præ ceteris a te, Rex potentissime. Id quod non modo nos demereri humillime studebimus; sed sera et grata tam nostra, quam universi Orbis Christiani posteritas, hæc quæ Deus per V^{am} Maj^{tem} peregit, celebrare gratis animis non desinet. Hisce offerentes Maj^{ti} V^{re} Regiæ nostra submissa et humillima, ea qua par est summa observantia, officia, eandem, cum Serenissima Regina, et inclyta sobole, nec non florentissimis regnis, divinæ protectioni, sinceris et assiduus ad Deum votis, commendamus.

^a Filled up by conjecture, the paper being torn.

Datum in Arce Pragensi, iii Novembris stylo novo. Anno
M.DC.XVIII. Regiæ Majestatis Vestræ

devotissimi

Barones, Equites, et Civitates Regiæ,
omnes t[^ares or^a]dines Inclyti Regni
Bohemiæ Evangelicam [Religi^a]-
onem profitentes.^b

No. XI.

SIR ISAAC WAKE TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Savoy.]

[Turin, ^{October 24,}
November 2, 1618.]

Here is arrived the Baron Dona, who hath brought letters unto the Duke of Savoye from the Prince Pallatine, the Marquis of Ansbach, the Prince of Anhalt, and others; the some of his instructions is to thanke the Duke of Savoye for the troops he was pleased to send unto those parts, to let him know how well they were employed, and what greate good they have donne, and lastely to desire him to continue the payment as long as conveniently he may.

No. XII.

THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO FRANCIS COTTINGTON.

[Spanish Translation. Add. MSS. 14,015, fol. 75.]

[Undated [? November] 1618.]

En quanto al Negocio de Bohemia su Mag^d me ha mandado que le escriva a V. M. lo siguiente para que se lo diga a esse Rey.

^a Filled up by conjecture, the paper being torn.

^b To this letter no answer was returned.

Primeramente que V. M. diga a su Magestad Catholica que el Rey Nuestro Señor le da infinitas gracias por tanta llaneza y claridad que ha usado con el en esse negocio. Y lo entiende por el mayor argumento y manifestacion que le ha dado jamas de su sinceridad, y de la resolucion que tiene de guardar inbiolablemente esta verdadera correspondencia, pues se fia del en lo que toca a essa negociacion: y podra estar seguro que hara en ella los mejores oficios que le sera possible, y en qualquier ocasion que se ofreciere o en su particular o por sus amigos o aliados usara de la misma llaneza y confidencia con su Magestad Catholica. Y para que bea su Magestad con claridad la justa y sincera correspondencia del Rey Nuestro Señor V. M. le ha de dezir que ha ya mas de tres mezes que su Magestad recebio las cartas de los Bohemios en que le representan sus agravios y piden ayuda y favor, pero hasta oy dia no les ha dado su Magestad respuesta ninguna ni por escrito, ni por palabra. Y esso en parte porque imaginava (y assi le avian intimado) que el Rey de España tenia intencion de emplear en ello la interposicion del Rey Nuestro Señor y hazerle Medianero en el negocio; y en parte porque no estava aun tan bien informado de las circunstancias incidentes que pudiera assentar su opinion, no aviendo oydo mas de una parte. Y porque su Magestad no sabe si han llegado alla queexas de los Bohemios y las justificaciones y alegaciones que presentan en su disculpa; ha me mandado que le embie a V. M. esta declaracion inclusa que es la que ellos han publicado, y assi la embio aunque en lengua Alemana por la brevedad del tiempo, y V. M. podra hazerla traducir y presentarla alla en caso que no la avran bisto. Y su Magestad desea que el Rey de España fuesse servido de informasse con certeza de lo que el Emperador y el Rey de Bohemia han respondido a esta declaracion de manera que el Rey Nuestro Señor pueda entender el estado y fundamento de la question; y proceder con entrambos partes con la ygualdad que es justo, y cumplir en todo con la confianza que podra tener del el Rey de España. Y para effectuar este mejor se huelga mucho de que el ynbierno esta ya tan adelante que espera que les

impidiera a entrambas partes de empeñarse mas en materia de armas, y dara tiempo competente a su Magestad para negociar alguna buena acomodacion: en la qual su Magestad Catholica le hallara tan justo y tan sincero como le hallo en el negocio de Juliers entre su Magestad y los Ser^{mos} Archiduques por una parte, y los Holandeses por otra.

Que luego tratara con el Conde Palatino y con los demas Principes de la Union para que persuaden a los Bohemios de pedir, y acceptar tales condiciones de paz, y concordia que estaran bien con la honra del Emperador, y con el derecho y interes del Rey de Bohemia; y tambien con la propria y necessaria seguridad dellos. Y en caso que rehusaran de hazerlo, su Magestad no solamente dexara de ayudarles y assistirles, pero empleara todo su credito con el Conde Palatino y con los demas Principes de la union de dexarles solos, y de declarar su desaprobacion de tan pertinaz y inobediente proceder. Pero si los Bohemios se mostraran reducibles y inclinados a las persuasiones de su Magestad, y a tal obediencia al Emperador y a su Rey qual conbiene a buenos bassallos, en tal caso espera su Magestad que el Rey de España dara lugar a tales y tan yguales condiciones que el Conde Palatino y los demas Principes (obligados no solamente por la vezindad, sino tambien por la profession de la misma religion) pueden dar y recibir la satisfacion que es justo, y evitar por alli la efusion de sangre Christiana, dandoles tambien seguridad del exercicio de su Religion y de los otros privilegios y libertades que tan constantemente ha gozado aquella gente ya tanto tiempo.

Y para que bea el Rey de España con quanta diligencia accude el Rey Nuestro Señor a sus cosas, podra V. M. dezirle que ya su Magestad ha hecho el despacho para su yerno, y comenzado de hazer sus diligencias en accomodar el negocio.

[*Indorsed.* Copia de carta que escrivio el Marques de Bucquingam a D. Francis Cottinton.

Vea esto el Sr Conde de Gondomar y diga lo que sobre ello se le offrezze.

Rubricado del Juan de Ciriça en Madrid a 8 de Henero 1619.]

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

With respect to the business of Bohemia, His Majesty has commanded me to write to you the following, in order that you may repeat it to that King.

First you are to say to His Catholic Majesty that the King our master gives him infinite thanks for the great plainness and clearness which he has used in this business. And he understands it to be the greatest proof and manifestation that he has ever given of his sincerity, and of the resolution which he has to keep inviolably that true correspondence with him, that he puts confidence in him in respect to this negotiation. And His Catholic Majesty may be sure that in this he will do all good offices in his power, and that on every occasion which may offer, either as regards himself, or his friends or allies, he will use the same plainness and confidence towards him. And in order that His Majesty may see clearly the complete and sincere correspondency of the King our master with him, you are to tell him that it is now more than three months since His Majesty received the letters of the Bohemians, in which they represented their grievances to him, and asked for his aid and favour, yet that to this day His Majesty has never given them any answer, either by writing or by word. And this is partly because he imagined (and so it has been intimated to him) that the King of Spain had an intention of employing in the matter the interposition of the King our master, and of making him mediator in the business; and partly because he was not yet so well informed of the circumstances of the case as to be able to form a decided opinion, not having heard more than one side. And, because His Majesty does not know whether the complaints of the Bohemians, and the justifications and allegations which they have drawn up to free themselves from blame have reached Spain, he has ordered me to send to you the inclosed declaration, which is the one which they have published, and, to save time, he sends it as it is, although it is in the German language. You can have it translated and presented there, in case they have not seen it. His Majesty also desires that the King of Spain will be pleased to inform himself with certainty what answer the Emperor and the King of Bohemia have made to this declaration, so that the King our master may be able to un-

derstand the state and foundation of the question; and to proceed towards both parties with fairness, and to act in everything in accordance with the confidence which the King of Spain may repose in him. And in order that this may succeed the better, he is very glad that the winter is so far advanced that there is hope that both parties may be hindered from engaging with one another any further by way of arms, and that sufficient time may be given to His Majesty to negotiate some good agreement, in which His Catholic Majesty will find him as just and as sincere as he found him in the negotiation of Juliers, between His Majesty and the Most Serene Archdukes on the one hand, and the Hollanders on the other.

He will treat immediately with the Count Palatine and the other Princes of the Union that they may persuade the Bohemians to demand and accept such conditions of peace and concord as will be likely to accommodate the business.

[*Indorsed.* Copy of the Letter which the Marquis of Buckingham wrote to Sir Francis Cottington.

Let the Count of Gondomar see this, and say whatever occurs to him about it.

Indorsed by Juan de Ciriza ^a at Madrid, the 8th of January, 1619.]

No. XIII.

FRANCIS COTTINGTON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Spain.]

[Madrid, December 3^o, 1618.]

Being lately with the same Secr^{ie} Juan de Ciriça, he told me that they had long since made a large dispatch unto their agent ^b ther, giving him order to acknowledge unto his Mat^{ie} a great obligation from this King for his soe noble and reall proceeding in that

^a Secretary of State.

^b Julian Sanchez de Ulloa, agent for the King of Spain in London since Gondomar's departure.

business, and to desire him that he might be pleased to continue his mediation for some good agreement. Butt withall he added that it is lately hither advertised how that the Prince Palatine doth therin no good offices, in which (he sayd) this King was much assured he observed not the orders given him by the King my master. They styll profess here that they desire nothing butt peace, yet withall I must lett your honour know that they have lately remitted thither 200 thousand ducketts, and are carefull to make provision for payment of the armie ther this next sommar.

No. XIV.

FRANCIS COTTINGTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Spain.]

[Madrid, December $\frac{13}{8}$, 1618.]

I have now spoken with this King, touching the business of Bohemia, and delyvered unto him the complaints or declaration of this people (which your lordship sent me), desiring that he would be pleased nott only to reade the paper (in case he had nott allreadie seen it) butt also to informe himself what aunswere had been given to it on behalfe of the Emperor and King of Bohemia, and to lett the King my master understand it, that soe having heard and understood both parties he might proceed with that equity and uprightness as was fitting ; I sayd that, to the end his Ma^{tie} might more playnly and truly perceave the integritie and sinceritie of the King my master in his proceeding in this business, and how well he takes the trust his Ma^{tie} reposeth in him, I had translated into Spanish the letter which (I sayd) I had newly received from my Lord Marques of Buckingham signifying therein unto me his Ma^{ties} pleasure and commaundment touching that business, and soe I gave him a copie of your lordship's sayd letter which I had fitted for the purpose.

His Matie answered me with a free and generall acknowledgment of his obligation to the King my master, and for this business of Bohemia in particular. He sayd he did much esteeme the favor doone him by the King of Great Brytayne, that he would reade the papers and cause a speedie aunswere to be given me.

It remains that I doe now solycite this busyness with those mynisters of this King unto whom it belongs, and give your lordship an accompt also of my proceedings with them.

No. XV.

CONSULTA BY THE COUNT OF GONDOMAR UPON THE LETTER OF
THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO FRANCIS COTTINGTON.

[Add. MSS. 14,015, fol. 77.]

[Madrid, January $\frac{4}{11}$, 1619.]

EL Conde de Gondomar ha visto como se acordo en Consejo la copia de la carta que el Marques de Boquingan ha escrito a Don Francisco Cotinton Agente de Inglaterra en las cosas de Bohemia, y cumpliendo con lo que se le manda que diga y lo que se le ofreze en el negocio, dize que sin embargo de la union y parentesca que el Rey de Inglaterra tiene con el Conde Palatino y hereges de Alemania, y que por esto su yntercession y medio puede ser muy sospechoso a la cassa de Austria y religion Catholica, el tiempo que el Conde de Gondomar estuvo en Inglaterra particularmente en los ultimos años vio y supo que aquel Rey desvio verdaderamente al Palatino de las inquietudines que trataba en la eleccion de Rey de Romanos, aconsejandole y aun reprehendiendole de lo que trato con el Duque de Baviera y de Saxonia sobre esto, y a Don Thomas Hedmons su embaxador que era en aquel tiempo (que avra dos años) en Francia le escrivio una carta de mucha reprehension porque avia ydo per la posta a Sedan a verse alli con el Palatino y Duque de Bullon a tratar

destas materias del Imperio:—Y entiende el Conde de Gondomar que estos officios del Rey de Inglaterra eran por su ynclinacion a la paz, y por las dificultades en que le parezca que se metia el Palatino y Protestantes de Alemania, y la obligacion en que el savia de ver en ayudarlos; temiendo que se juntarian los Catholicos contra ellos, y serian mas poderosos y que esto tenia en el mas fuerça para los buenos officios que la amistad de V. Mag^d, ni lo que el Conde de Gondomar le represento para ello, y assi entiende que, a la medida que viere las ventajas en el poder de una o otra parte, seran los officios que hiziere, si bien tiene en el Rey que oy es de Inglaterra por tan poderosa la vanedad, que siempre tendria mucha fuerça con el averse hecho pazes por su medio, de que se le sigue autoridad, y assi parece al Conde de Gondomar que tomando fundamento del ofrecio que el Rey de Inglaterra haze a su Mag^d se puede y conviene azetar, pues no puede dañar ni obrar el peor por esta razon, que lo que haria sin ella; antes se puede sacar fruto y obligalle a que aya verguenza de simismo y que realmente haga buenos y verdaderos officios para la reducion de los Bohemios a la obediencia de su Mag^d Cessarea y Rey Ferdinando, y para esto no le parece al Conde de Gondomar mal medio que el Rey de Inglaterra embiase luego un Embaxador a Alemania a tratar desto, y se procurase Inglaterra que este Embaxador fuese bien ynclinado a la religion Catholica y servicio de su Mag^d que assi se procuro y consigno en la diferencias de los estados de Juliers.

El modo de encaminar esto aqui parece que podria ser escribiendo el Señor Secretario Juan de Cirica un papel a Don Francisco Cointon, Agente de Inglaterra, diziendole como aviendo visto y considerado su Mag^d Catholica lo que dixo y ofrecio de palabra en nombre de su Mag^d del Rey de la gran Bretaña, y el papel que le dio sobre el acomodamiento de las cossas de Bohemia y el querer interponer su autoridad y medios en reducir los Bohemios a la obediencia de su Mag^d Cessarea y Rey Ferdinando, le ha ordenado su Mag^d que le diga que escriba a su Rey la gran estimacion que ha hecho deste

ofrecimiento y voluntad, porque con ello se muestra y vee la real intencion de su Mag^d del Rey de la Gran Bretaña, y lo que desea y procura la paz publica y bien universal de la christiandad, accion de tan grande y buen Rey como el es, y juntamente el amor y amistad a la cassa de Austria, y a que los Rey es no permitan introduccion tan perniciosa como la rebellion y desobediencia de sus subditos, y que assi hara su Mag^d del Rey de la Gran Bretaña accion muy conforme a todos estos fines en elegir y nombrar luego embaxador espresso que vaya a Bohemia a tratar desta compasscion, y que su Mag^d Catholica ordenara al Conde de Oñate, su embaxador en la Corte Cessarea, que haga de su parte para el mismo fin y buen acomodamiento de las cossas todos los officios que sean posibles, guardando y teniendo con el Embaxador que fuere de Inglaterra la buena hermandad intelligencia y correspondencia que ay entre las dos Magestades y tanto conviene para el buen fin, y que el Agente de Inglaterra escrivia al Rey de la Gran Bretaña que el vaya tambien viendo si de aca convendra que su Mag^d Catholica haga algunos otros particulares officios, o si de la parte del Emperador y Rey de Bohemia huviere difficultad en alguna cossa que parezca razonable para que su Mag^d Catholica lo facilite y procure reduzir de manera que ambas Magestades hagan esta concordia y paz tan conviniente a todos y tan del servicio de Dios, y el Rey de Francia no tendra causa de sentirse de que se admita lo que Inglaterra ofreze, pues Francia no ha salido a ello: en Madrid a 14 de Hen^o 1619.

The Count of Gondomar has seen the vote of the Council relating to the letter which the Marquis of Buckingham has written to Sir Francis Cottington the English Agent about the affairs of Bohemia, and in compliance with the directions he has received that he should say what occurs to him on the business, he says that in spite of the union and connexion of the King of England with the Count Palatine and the heretics of Germany, and though, for that reason, his intercession and mediation might be regarded with great suspicion by the House of Austria, yet whilst the

Count of Gondomar was in England, and especially in the last years, he saw and knew that that King really prevented the Palatine from throwing impediments in the way of the election of the King of the Romans, giving him counsel, and even blaming him for negotiating with the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony on this matter; and he wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondson, who at that time (two years ago) was his ambassador in France, a letter in which he blamed him severely for having gone by post to Sedan to meet the Palatine and the Duke of Bouillon with the object of treating on these affairs of the Empire. And the Count of Gondomar understands that these good offices of the King of England were owing to his inclination to peace, and to his expectation of the difficulties into which the Palatine and the Protestants of Germany would bring him, and to the obligation to assist them under which he knew he was, being afraid lest the Catholics would join against them and become more powerful. It is this which has more to do with his good offices than your Majesty's friendship or than the representations made to him by the Count of Gondomar. The Count understands therefore that the good offices which he will do will be in proportion to the advantage which he sees to be gained by one side or the other, for he holds that the vanity of the present King of England is so great that he will always think it of great importance that peace should be made by his means, so that his authority may be increased. It therefore seems to the Count of Gondomar that, upon the basis of the offer made to his Majesty by the King of England, it is possible and fitting to accept his mediation, since it can not do any harm, or make things worse than they would be without it: but that it is more likely that good will come of it, and that he will be brought under an obligation by what he does, so as to be ashamed of himself, and really and truly to do good offices towards the reduction of the Bohemians to the obedience of His Imperial Majesty and the King Ferdinand. And it seems to the Count of Gondomar, that it would not be a bad way to obtain this object, that the King of England should send immediately to Germany an ambassador to treat about it, and if it could be arranged in England that this ambassador should be well inclined to the Catholic religion and to His Majesty's service, as was arranged and managed in the dispute about the States of Juliers.

The best mode of setting this on foot here seems to be that the Secretary Juan de Ciriza should write a paper to Sir Francis Cottington the English Agent, telling him that his Catholic Majesty having seen and considered what he has said and proposed by word of mouth on behalf of the King of Great Britain, and the paper that he gave him about the accommodation of the affairs of Bohemia, and about the King's wish to reduce the Bohemians to the obedience of His Imperial Majesty and the King Ferdinand, has ordered him to request him to write to his King telling him of the great estimation which is made of this ready offer by which is shown and seen the real intention of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, and how much he desires and procures the public peace, and the universal good of Christendom (an action worthy of so great and good a King as he is), and withal his love and friendship to the House of Austria, and that Kings should not permit so pernicious an introduction as rebellion and disobedience of their subjects; and that thus His Majesty the King of Great Britain will do an action very conformable to these ends by choosing and naming immediately an express ambassador who may go to Bohemia to treat of this composition, and that his Catholic Majesty will order the Count of Oniate his ambassador at the Imperial Court, to do on his part, for the same end, and for the well compounding of the business, all the good offices which may be possible, keeping and holding with the ambassador who may be sent from England that good brotherhood, intelligence, and correspondence, which is between their Majesties, and which is so necessary to bring things to a good end; and that the English agent should write to the King of Great Britain to know if it is there thought necessary that His Catholic Majesty should do any other particular good offices, and he may add that, if on the part of the Emperor or the King of Bohemia there should be any difficulty in any thing which may seem reasonable, His Catholic Majesty will facilitate and reduce matters in such a way that both their Majesties may bring about this concord and peace so convenient for all, and so much for the service of God. And the King of France will have no cause to complain of the acceptance of the English offer, since France has not come forward with any such proposal.

Madrid, 14th of January, 1619.

No. XVI.

FRANCIS COTTINGTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Spain.]

[Madrid, January 7, 1619.]

I am now told by the principall secretarie that the Lords of the Councell of State have sent a consulta to the King about the aunswere which shall be given me in the business of Bohemia, and that I shall receave it within three or four days; in the meane tyme, the Duke of Useda, the said Secretarie, and most of the Lords have told me, that this King holdeth himself infinitely bound unto his Majestie for soe free, real, and noble a proceeding with him in the business, and that he wyll putt it wholly into his hands, and to this effect the King himselfe hath told me. I hope within ten days I shall be able to dispatch the post with an aunswere in the mayn business, and by him I shall also advertise that of Bohemia.

No. XVII.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[London, January 31, 1619.]

By the Baron of Dona who hath lately been employed hither from the Elector Palatin, his Ma^{ty} hath understood so much of the affaires of Germany, that he hath thought fit in his princely wisdom both to take into consideration their present estate, and to prevent (as farr as may lye in him) such daunger as may perhaps fall hereafter uppon some who rely wholie upon his royall protection. His Ma^{ty} could wish above all thinges to see those partes settled in a good and secure peace, as being a course most conforme to his goodly disposicion, and to the profession he hath alwayes made; but if his desires therein cannot have their wished effect, he may

not neglect the care of those whom he doth the honour to love, and is bound to protect. The Prince Pallatine, as thinges stand at this present, is *paries proximus*, and the fier is so neare his house, that reason of state will inforce him to stand uppon his guard for feare of being surprised; besides, the great age of the Emperor is accompanied with such weakness and indisposition that it may be feared he will not be able to hould out long; and if he should chance to fayle, the vicariate of Upper Germany must neades fall upon the Palatin, as being the first elector of the Empier. That dignitie cannot be maintained with such eminency and authority as is fittinge, unless it be supported with power and strength that may inforce obedience, especially considering that the state of the Pallatine is beseged on all sides by ecclesiasticall Princes, who, as they hate his religion, so will they ever envy his greatness and doe their best to oppress him. These consideracions will inforce the Palatin to have in readinesse such strength and forces as may both secure his state at the present, and enable him to maintaine the vicariat dignitie when it shall fall uppon him; and, because his own state will hardly support so great a charge without some helpe and assistance of common friends, it is his Ma^{ts} pleasure that you sholde move the states of the United Provinces to contribute for their parts the pay of 2000 foot for some few months, in which time it may be hoped that all matters may be quietly accommodated. His Ma^{tie} hath alreadie led them the way by his renewinge the alliance with the body of the Union, which will be no small incouragement to those Princes to stand uppon the defence of the publike liberty, and if you can procure of those states this small assistance which is desired, you shall doe an acceptable service to his Ma^{ty} in regarde of the care he hath of the publike good.^a

^a The following is Dohna's own account of his mission, extracted by Voigt in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch* (1853), 126:—

“Nach dem ich bei dem Könige Audienz gehabt, haben Seine Majestät mich an die Rätthe gewiesen, mit denselben in Unions-sachen wegen Prolongation des Bündnisses zu CAMD. SOC.

No. XVIII.

FREDERICK V., ELECTOR PALATINE, TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Heidelberg, January 22, 1619.
February 1,

SIRE,

Le sieur Baron de Dona aura désormais représenté à Vostre Mat^e l'estat des affaires de Boheme, par ou elle aura entendu les moyens qu'on avoit proposé pour avancer une amiable interposition. Laquelle bien qu'elle aye en quelque apparence d'estre recherchée, si est ce que outre l'incertitude de son progresz, il y est ja allé une

tractiren, sintemal die Zeit des ersten Verbündnisses zu Ende gelaufen. Es sind sechs der königlichen Rätthe zu der Handlung verordnet worden. Der Erzbischof von Canterbury, der duc de Lenox, der duc de Buckingham, welchen man Marquis genaunt, nebst drei Gelehrten (conseillers d'état) welche, als sie versammelt gewesen, mir eine Stunde benaunt, bei ihnen im königlichen Palaste zu erscheinen. Als ich in den Rath gekommen, haben sie sich an eine Tafel niedergesetzt, mir aber die Oberstelle allein zu sitzen angewiesen, und hat man also (in Abwesenheit des von Buckingham welcher nicht bei der Hand sein können) die Handlung angefangen. Sie wurde bald verrichtet, und enklärte sich der König er wolle das Bündniss mit den Unirten noch auf einige Jahre verlängern, also dasz ich meinen Zweck und was mir befohlen war, erlangte. Daneben aber waren mir noch andere Sachen übertragen, belungend den Zustand von Deutschland und dasz es sich ansehen liesze, als ob nach Kaiser Matthias Tod die Stände in Böhmen, Mähren und benachbarten Landschaften einen andern Herrn erwählen möchten, dabei denn etliche Leute sich die Einbildung machten, als ob solche Wahl auf einen evangelischen Reichsfürsten, und namentlich auf den Kurfürsten Pfalzgrafen, Seiner Majestät Eidam, sollte gebracht werden können. Dies Alles ist zwar Seiner Majestät mit gebührendem Grund und mit Bescheidenheit vorgebracht, aber doch allerdings nicht wohl aufgenommen worden. Denn obwol Seine Majestät sich dahin erklärte, dasz sie, wenn auf gemeldetem Todesfall eine *electio legitima* vorginge, alsdann ihres Eidams sich anzunehmen nicht unterlassen wolle, so gab dennoch Seine Majestät zu verstehen, er wolle von einen Kriege nichts hören. Er sehe wohl, wir gingen damit um, einen Krieg anzuheben, aber er, der König, wolle damit nichts zu thun haben, denn er merke, dasz sich etliche Fürsten in Deutschland damit grosz zu machen suchten. Es wäre sein Rath, dasz sich sein Eidam wohl in Acht zu nehmen hätte, ehe er einen Krieg

bonne espace de temps en vain. Et cependant sa Ma^{te} Imperiale se renforçant par les levées qui se font ça et là pour elle, il est à craindre, que si ceux qui la conseillent et l'engagent à ceste guerre obtenoient le dessus, ils pourroient tirer en longueur ladite Interposition, ou bien la rejeter du tout; ce qui en l'un et l'autre cas rendroit de beaucoup pire la condition des Bohemiens. Lesquels ne sont bastants de continuer d'eux mesmes leur defensive à l'encontre d'un si puissant parti, favorisé et assisté de la force d'Espagne et des Papistes qui ne respirent que l'extirpation de la religion Evangelicque. De sorte que si lesdits Bohemiens estoient contrainsts de ceder à la violence, il est tout certain, qu'alors les Evangeliques de la Germanie seroient à la veille d'un grand danger. C'est pourquoy je supplie Vostre Ma^{te} bien humblement qu'il luy plaise embrasser de son costé cest affaire bien vivement selon sa royal prudence et generosité pour le conservation du Bien et rafermissement du repos public. Les Electeurs Ecclesiastiques et autres Princes et Prelats furent, ces jours passez, assemblez à Ober Wesel, où ils ont indubitablement conclu de prester secours contre les Bohemiens. Dont j'ay estime devoir donner ce mot d'advis à Vostre Ma^{te}, et par mesme moyen l'asseurer de mon obeyssance filiale accompagnée d'un singulier desir de rencontrer les occasions pour y joindre les effects et vous tesmoigner combien je suis,

Sire,

De Vostre M^{te},

Tresobeissant fils et serviteur,

De Heydelburg le

FRIDERIC, E. P.

22 de Janvier, 1619.

anhebe, er solle als ein junger Herr seinen Schwiegervater folgen, wie die Verse Virgil's lauteten, welche Ihre königliche Majestät mir vorhielten und vorsagten :

O præstans animi juvenis, quantum ipse feroci

Virtute exsuperas, tanto me impensius æquum est

Prospicere atque omnes volentem expendere casus.

In the original (*Æn.* xii. 21) the last line stands "Consulere atque omnis metuentem expendere casus."

No. XIX.

DON JUAN DE CIRIZA TO FRANCIS COTTINGTON.

[State Papers. Spain.]

[Madrid, January 22,
February 1, 1619.]

AVIENDO visto y considerado su Mag^d el papel que V. M. le dio sobre el acomodamiento de las cosas de Bohemia, y lo que V. M. le dixo y offrecio de palabra en nombre del Ser^{mo} Rey de la Gran Bretaña, de que interpondria su autoridad y medios en reduzir a los Bohemios a la obediencia del Emperador y Rey Ferdinando, me ha mandado dezir, que V. M. responda de su parte la gran estimacion que ha hecho deste offrecimiento y voluntad, por lo que con ello se muestra, y vee la real intencion que tiene, y lo que dessea y procura la paz publica, cosa digna de tan grande y buen Rey como es, y juntamente el amor y amistad a la casa de Austria, y a que los Reyes no permitan introducion tan perniciosa, como la rebelion y desobediencia de sus subditos, y que assi sera accion muy conforme a todos estos fines el nombrar luego su Mag^d del Rey de la Gran Bretaña Embaxador expreso que vaya a Bohemia a tratar desta composicion, y que su Mag^d Catholica ordenara al Conde de Oñate su Embaxador en la corte Cesarea, que haga de su parte para el mismo effecto y buen acomodamiento de las cosas, todos los officios que sean posibles guardando y teniendo con el Embaxador que fuere de Ynglaterra la buena hermandad inteligencia y correspondencia que ya entre las dos Mag^{des} y tanto conviene para el buen fin que se lleva, Y que haziendo esto el Ser^{mo} Rey de la Gran Bretaña de su parte, el Rey mi Señor hara de la suya los officios que parescieren convenientes para facilitar si hubiera alguna dificultad de parte del Emperador y Rey Ferdinando en cosa que parezca razonable de manera que sus Mag^{des} hagan esta concordia y paz tan conbeniente a todos y tan del servicio de Dios, que guarde a V. M. como desseo. En Madrid, a 1^o de Feb^o 1619.

JU^o DE CIRIZA.

^aHis Majestie, having seene and considered the paper which you gave him touching accommodating the business of Bohemia, together with what you offred and sayd unto him by word of mouth, in the name of the most excelent King of Great Britaine, how that he would interpose his meanes and authoritie, in reducing the Bohemians to the obedience of the Emperor and the King Ferdinando, hath commaunded me to tell you, that, on his behalfe, you should represent the great estimation which he hath made of this offer and wyllingness, for that by it is playnly shewn and seene his reall intention, and how much he desires and procures the publike peace (a proceeding worthy of soe great and soe good a King as he is), and withall his love and frendship to the howse of Austria, and that kings should nott permitt soe pernicious an introduction as rebellion and disobedience in theyr subjects; and that therfore it shall be an action very conformable to all these ends, that his Ma^{tie} of Great Brytayne doe presently appoynt and send an express Embasador for Bohemia, ther to treat of this composition; and that his Catho. Ma^{tie} wyll give order unto the Conde of Oniate (his Embasador in the Emperor's Court) that to the same effect and purpose, and for the well compounding of the business, he doe all the good offices which shall be possible for him, holding and keeping with the Embassador that shall be sent from England that good brotherhood, intelligence, and correspondence which is between theyr Ma^{ties}, and is also soe necessary for the desired end. And that, his Majestie of Great Brytain being pleased on his part to performe thus much, the King my master wyll also doe thos good offices which shall be thought convenient for facilitating of the business, if on behalfe of the Emperor or the King Ferdinando any difficultie shall appeare, in that which shall seeme reasonable, in such sort as theyr Majesties may effect this peace and concord, soe convenient for all parties, and soe much for the service of God, who preserve you as I desire. In Madrid this first of Feb. 1619.

JUAN DE CIRIQA.

^a This translation is in Cottington's handwriting. (State Papers, Spain.)

No. XX.

THE DUTCH COMMISSIONERS IN ENGLAND^a TO THE STATES GENERAL.

[Extract.]

[Transcripts from the Archives of the Hague. Add. MSS. 17,677. I. fol. 382, b.]

[London, January 23,
February 2, 1619.]

Wij hebben eenige dagen geleden verstaen vuijt een van de voornaemste heeren van den rade, dat ter instantie van den baron Dona, van wegen die geunieerde vorsten van Duijtslant, d'alliance ende ligne defensive met deselve bij zijne Ma^t was gecontinueert, ende derhalven genochsaem geengageert in cas van necessiteit de saeche van Behemen te helpen mainteneren, voegende daerbij den gemelten heere, dat seer dienstich soude sijn dat Uwe ho: mo: bij dese goede occasie door een vigoreuse aenmaninge, zijne Ma^t souden esveilleren ende versoecken tot het datelijck secours van die van Bohemen, oordeelende dat soodanige devoiren nijet onder merke-lijke vrucht ende effect souden sijn.

WE understood, some days ago, from one of the principal lords of the Council, that, at the instance of Baron Dohna on the part of the United Princes of Germany, the alliance and defensive league between them and his Majesty was continued, and that the King was therefore sufficiently engaged in case of necessity to help to maintain the Bohemian cause. The above mentioned lord added that it would be very serviceable that your High Mightinesses should rouse His Majesty by a vigorous exhortation, and should invite him to the immediate succour of the Bohemians, judging that if you performed your part in this manner it would not be without marked fruit and effect.

^a They had been sent to negotiate a treaty between the Dutch and English East India Companies.

No. XXI.

FRANCIS COTTINGTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM. [Extract.]

[State Papers, Spain.]

[Madrid, January 28, 1619.
February 7,

IN the mean tyme this King hath given me his aunswere in the business of Bohemia, his pleasure being signified unto me in a lettre from the Principal Sec^{rie} of State, as wyll appeare unto your lordship by the copie of that lettre which I send you here enclosed; and better I cannott express what I am in that letter required to represent unto his Ma^{tie} then by referring him to the letter itselfe, which (for his Majesties more immediat understanding of it) I have translated into English on the backe of it.

After that the sayd written aunswere was delyvered me, the Secretarie wrote me another letter (the copie wherof I allso send your lordship here inclosed) desiring that I would forthwith dispatch this messenger with that aunswere unto his Majestie, for that it required hast, telling me withall that in the principall business they went on apace, and that shortly another Correo should be dispatched with that resolution, which request of his I could by no meanes denie, butt resolved to dispatch this bearer accordingly.

If his Majestie shall be pleased according to the request of this King (and therof they are here very confident) to send an Embasador into Bohemia, I have thought it my dewtie to putt your lordship in mynd how that the sending one whom they here understand to be well affected to the service of this King wyll give them very great satisfaction, howsoever the business shall succeed; and, on the contrary, they wyll ever be jelous that things might have been better carried. I have the rather presumed to say this much unto your lordship (which I humbly beseech you to pardon) for that I perceave ther are nott many gentlemen of qualitie about that

Court of whose dispositions or inclynation they have nott made some judgment; I mean eyther of theyr affections or aversness to the good of this state and to the continuance of this good correspondence which is now between theyr Ma^{ties}.

* * * *

Since the wrighting of this much I have seen (by meanes of a confident frend) the dispatch which this bearer carryes from this King to Julian Sanches his Agent ther,^a in which his Majestie commaunds him exprestly to solycite the King my master's resolution in the business of Bohemia, to acquaint your lordship with it, and to pray your favorable remembrance of his Majestie in the business; to observe the qualitie of the person that shall be named for the Embassage into Bohemia, and forthwith to advertise the Conde of Oniate (this King's Ambassador in Germany) of it, that he may accordingly provide for the reception of him ther (the very words of the dispatch) as from hence he hath instructions. And in the sayd dispatch, they doe allso advertise the Agent, that within these 3 dayes they wyll send a Correo unto theyr Ambassador in Germany, giving him in charge to prepare all things for this treatie, in the best manner he may. Thes partyculars I have thought worthy of your lordship's knowledge, and therfore I have been the larger in them.

No. XXII.

THE DUTCH COMMISSIONERS IN ENGLAND TO THE STATES GENERAL.

[Transcripts from the Archives of the Hague. Add. MSS. 17,677, I. fol. 388.]

[London, February $\frac{2}{3}$, 1619.]

HOOGE ENDE MOGENDE HEEREN.

Mijnheeren, die heer baron van Dona hebbende alhier sijn desche becomen, ende gaende in legatie naer U. ho: ende mo:

^a Julian Sanchez de Ulloa, the Spanish Agent in London.

heeft van ons begeert brieven van addres aen dieselve, die wij met vougen niet wel en hebben connen wijgeren, hebbende verstaen dat sijne Ma^t die saecke beharticht, ende ten selven eynde aen den heer ambassadeur Carleton geschreven, om sijn E. soo veel doenlijk te seconderen. Denselven heer van Dona heeft alhier geobtineert prolongatie van de alliance (gelijk wij voor desen geschreven) voor den tijt van ses jaren, ende zedert ooch noch beloftenissen van eenich secours van die van Beemen, gelijk wij van hem verstaen ende U. ho. ende mo. van denselven breeder sullen connen vernehmen. Die heer Gabaleon, ambassadeur van den hartich van Savoiën, die voor desen lange verwacht, is op gisteren alhier gearriveert. Ende wesende tegenwoordich niet anders, bidder den Almogenden, enz.

Vuijt London, den 12^{en}
Februarij 1619.

J. VAN GOCH.
E J. VAN DER DUSSEN.
JOACHIM LIENZ.
NOEL DE CARON.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS.

My Lords. The Baron Dohna, having received his despatch here, and going on an embassy to Your High Mightinesses, has demanded of us a letter addressed to you, which we could not well refuse, as we had understood that His Majesty took the matter much to heart, and has written to the same purpose to the Lord Ambassador Carleton to second his Excellency as much as possible. The same Baron Dohna has obtained here a prolongation of the alliance (as we wrote before) for a period of six years, and, since that, he has also got promises of some succour for the Bohemians, as we understand from him, and as Your High Mightinesses will learn at greater length from himself. Signor Gabaleone, the Duke of Savoy's ambassador, who has been long expected, arrived yesterday. And as at present there is nothing more to write, we pray the Almighty, &c.

No. XXIII.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.^a [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[London, February $\frac{4}{11}$, 1619.]

THE Baron Dona hath renewed the treaty with the Princes of the Union for sixe yeares more, and is now coming to solicit the States, whom his Ma^{ty} will have to assist him with all the best offices you may do him there, and to use his name and credit to the States for the speediest accomplishment of what he hath to propound unto them.

No. XXIV.

FREDERICK V., ELECTOR PALATINE, TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Heidelberg, February $\frac{5}{13}$, 1619.]

SIRE,

VOSTRE Ma^{te} est sans doute bien informée par ses Ambassadeurs de l'armée navale et grands preparatifs de guerre que le Roy d'Espagne fait faire tant en Italie, qu'en ses autres ports de mer, et du passage qu'on demande de sa part à la Republicque de Venise pour mener par le Golffe ou la Mer Adriatique un notable nombre de gens de guerre en Austriche contre les Estats de Boheme. J'estime chose superflue de représenter à V. M^{te} combien il importe au Public d'avoir l'œil sur tels desseings, et de tenir la main à la conservation desdits estats, et mesmes de ladit Republicque, puis qu'elle a jusque icy servi comme de contremine à plusieurs dangereuses entreprises. Aussi suis-je tres asseuré que Vostre Ma^{te} n'a rien plus

^a Ambassador at the Hague.

à cœur que l'avancement et entretenement du bien et repos de toute la Chrestienté. Et neantmoins je me veux promettre de sa bonté naturelle et paternelle affection enuers moy, qu'elle n'aura desaggreable ce mot que je luy fay pour luy tesmoigner que de ma part je porte mon soing à ce mesme but: et qu'il est fort à craindre que, si par le moyen dudit passage ladite armée, ou une partie d'icelle, se transportoit dans l'Empire, la faction d'Espagne auroit porte ouverte pour executer divers desseings, non seulement au grand desavantage de toute la Germanie, mais aussi et specialement de ladite Republique; C'est pourquoy je supplie Vostre Ma^{te} bien humblement, qu'il luy plaise employer son conseil et autorité à divertir la permission dudict passage, pour les considerations susmentionnées. En quoy elle s'obligera de plus en plus tout le Public, et ce sera l'endroit ou, apres vous avoir baisé bien humblement les mains, je demeure à tousjours, Sire,

De Vostre Ma^{te}

Tresobeissant fils et serviteur,

FRIDERIC, E. P.

De Heydelberg le

5^e de Febvrier 1619.

No. XXV.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[The Hague, February 13, 1619.]

THE day following^a I spake with the Prince of Orange concerning the assistance of the Prince Palatin; which he did not thincke fitt to have mentioned to the States untill the returne of the Baron Dona; who came to this towne on Wednesday^b night late; and this day he hath audience of the States Generall. His busines is in some good

^a Following last Sunday, *i.e.* Feb. 9.

^b February 10.

manner prepared for him; in that the Provinces have bene already moved for the assistance of the Bohemians, towards which they are well inclined to make a contribution in that manner as they did to the Duke of Savoy by a monthly payment: and because the affaires of the Prince Palatine and the Bohemians have some connection one with the other, it wilbe the lesse difficultie to procure that the money may be employed by the Prince Palatin, as may be best for the common good of those parts.^a

No. XXVI.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[The Hague, February 17, 1619.]

THIS day two of their deputies have bene with me, one of Holland, an other of Zeeland, to acquaint me with their answere which they have given to the Baron Dona, and wherewith he departs this after-noone. The effect thereof is that they have already written to their provinces, and will now againe second their former letters touching the Bohemians, not doubting but within few dayes they shall have order from their principalls to give them assistance; and touching the succours of the Princes of the Union that they will readily performe the same in conformitie to their treatie.

This being as much as was required of them by the Baron Dona, I did not thincke it fitt for me to presse them to any further matter in particular concerning the Prince his master, neyther did he desire I should, but rather attend the States' resolution concerning the Bohemians; and by that time, hearing from the Prince Palatin, I might according to his Majesty's order by your honour's former letter of the 21st of the last governe myselfe as may be best for the Prince's service.

^a Printed in the Carleton Letters (1780), p. 337.

The States have advise that the preparations in all parts against the Bohemians wilbe in readinesse in May next at the furthest; against which time, as they will not be wanting to give assistance, so they desire the Princes of the Union (who are *paries proximus*) would in time resolve and putt in execution what belongs unto them in a matter of that nature, wherein both the libertie of those parts and the state of religion in generall is interesséd, to which effect they have desired me now by their deputies both to write to his Ma^{ty} as likewise to the Prince Palatin, to the end some good resolution may be taken in common for the preservation of the Bohemians.^a

No. XXVII.

SIR THOMAS WYNN TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Domestic, cv. 117.]

[February 19, 1619.]

My Lord of Doncaster is to goe Embassador to the princes of Germany, and soe to Bohemia.

No. XXVIII.

BARON CHRISTOPHER DOHNA TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[Heidelberg, $\frac{\text{February } 23,}{\text{March } 5,}$ 1619.]

MONSIEUR,

Estant arrivé icy pres de son Altesse, je n'ay point failly de presenter et vos lettres et vos recomandations, qui ont esté très-agreçables. J'ay trouvé les nouvelles de Boeme telles qu'il n'y a nulle aparence de paix, ains la guerre continue non obstant les traitez de composition. On a acordé une Assemblée des Interpositeurs ou Entremetteurs à Eguer, pour le $\frac{4}{14}$ d'Avril, mais ceux qui

^a Printed in the Carleton Letters (1780), p. 338.

entendent les affaires doutent fort si on y fera gran chose. Vous obligerez le public infiniment, de faire avancer la resolution de l'assistance. Car cela viendra fort à propos. Et je vous suplie, de ne vous laisser etonner par ces bruits de la compositions. Car notwithstanding cette Assemblée, il semble qu'ils se frotteront bien en l'armée; laissant cependant traitter et consulter les gens de robe. Aussi ne peut ladite Assemblée sentir si tost son effet, car on veut que toutes les Provinces des Archiducs d'Autriche, ou il y a des gens de la Religion, y interviennent, nommément ceux de Silesie, Moravie, Styrie, Carinthie, &c. Il sera donc bon de remonter aux Espagnols que S. A. Palatine nommément a tant fait que les Bohémiens ne refusent point de traitter. Mais qu'on ne pourra pas permettre que sous ombre de composition on les engage en un traité trompeux et contraire à leur liberté. Autrement si sous ombre de cette paix l'Espagnol les veut opprimer, ils seront dechargez devant tout le monde de se opposer à la tyrannie de tout leur pouvoir.

No. XXIX.

INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR HENRY WOTTON.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[March $\frac{1}{11}$, 1619.]

BEING now determined to call you from your residence in Venice, our pleasure is that in your returne to us you take your journee through the courts of such Princes and others, as you shall find named in a postscript to these Instructions.

To them wee send you in quality of our Extraordinarie Ambassador, which stile both your letters of credence doe beare, and which also agreeth with the nature of your employment. Wee doe therefore depute you to this charge, as well because wee have in all your negotiations evidently scene both your zeale to our service and the care of the common good, (and this wee hope will proove

of singular use to both,) as also because your journey lyeing properly for those parts will by raising lesse noyse awaken the fewer eyes over you, which both ourselfe and the quality of this busines doe require.

Seeing the children of the world who inheritt the wisdome thereof have much prevailed themselves of our owne native subjects (which should have beene our proper instruments and strength, had they not been by them seduced and degenerated unnaturally to assault and weaken us,) by their planting seminaries for those whom either error or malice might dissever from us to their party, wheare, being inebriated with their cupp, they forget all naturall duety and affections, and are transformed and forged out into emissaries for the disguising and effectuating of their such designes and purposes as are ashamed of the light. Wee therefore herein content to imitate them (soe farre forth as the simplicity of our profession may permitt) have thought it expedient for the common cause of religion and state to erect some places founded for such as shall be recovered from schism and rebellion, for the reliefe and instruction of those amongst them who shall desire to come out of that darknes wherein they live. To which proposition wee are mooved, both out of wisdome and regard to our owne safety, out of charity to our adversaries themselves, and out of zeale to the publick good. And some shame it were to us that they who have the worst cause should so much excell us in the care of advancing it, that their superstition should appeare more fervent then our zeale.

Wherefore you shall to these Princes and others in our name propound, that they joyne with us and together their counsailes and contribucions to this good worke, which may in time produce soe many effects profitable to the christian world. All other arguments arising either from religion or policie, of which this busines is pregnant enough, as also the farther consulting with those where you shall negotiate upon the most convenient places, and other pertinent considerations and circumstances which wilbe incident to the first foundation of this worke, wee leave to be farther enlarged

by your discretion as your selfe, upon such occasions as shalbe offered, shall discover and judge to be most fitting and convenient.

The Princes and Citties of the Union to whom you are to have letters of credence :

The Prince Elector Palatine,
 The Elector of Brandenburg,
 The Duke of Wirtemberg,
 The Landgrave of Hesse,
 The Prince Christianus of Anhalt,
 The Marquis of Anspach,
 The Marquis of Baden,
 The Imperiall Citties and Republicques of Norimberg, Ulme,
 Strasbourg.

No. XXX.

SIR HENRY WOTTON^a TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Venice.]

[Venice, March $\frac{5}{13}$, 1619.]

MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE,

I have good occasion to addresse the present unto your Majesties owne Royal handes. It maie therefore please youre Matie to understande that I was yesterdaie called heare to the Pallace, where by order of Senate was reade unto me (as theire fashion is when they will speake determinately) such a serious and fervent acknowledgement of theire obligations to your Matie as I have never before heard anie thinge couched in so sensible and so abundant termes, grounded upon advice from theire owne Ambassadour, that youre Matie had at his instance (as I conceive them to take it) resolved to send out some sufficient number of your owne shippes,^b as likewise

^a Ambassador at Venice.

^b The ships were not sent, as the Spanish preparations ceased.

other vessels belonging to the merchants of youre kingdome, towards the coast of Spaine, to invigilate for the common safetie over the preparations and designes of that King, who will thereby, as they well imagine, be soe injealoused, as maie, peradventure, keepe him from molesting thease nearer seas, which consequently wil redound (saie they) not onely to the quiet of Italie, but likewise to much advantage of the German affaires, as meaning that without some such distraction of the Spanish power an attempt perchaunce might be made to transport souldiers by the Gulfe to Treiste in succour of the house of Austria against the Bohemians whom the United Princes doe favour; and therefore for the foresaid resolution in youre Mat^{ie} ymplying directly or obliquely the good of so manie of your freindes, they held themselves eternally obliged, desiring mee likewise in termes of more then ordinary vehemencie to concurre with their Ambassadour in representing to youre Majestie how tenderly and how sensibly they take this greate argument of youre love and of youre care towards their estate and what a deep impression it hath made in the heartes of them all. This was the substance, but I must humbly confesse unto youre Mat^{ie} mine owne weakenes in the deliverie thereof. Now having newly received an expresse commaund from youre Mat^{ie} to intercede with this State in youre name, about the breeding of a nearer correspondencie betweene them and the Germane Princes by reciprocall instruments on each side, and observing by that they sayd yesterdaie unto mee what a feeling they had taken of youre Mat^{ies} late kindnes, it moved me this verie morning to returne upon mine owne demaund againe to the Palace, where after I had dischargd your Mat^{ies} counsayle and desire, I concluded, that nothing in mine opinion could ever happen more seasonably, for having but the daie before professed unto mee how Royal and howe true a freinde they founde your Mat^{ie} in this tyme of their doubtles, there was now a faire opportunitie offered unto them to shewe likewise on their partes how much they respected your Mat^{ies} propositions, and the freindshippe of youre confederates.

The Duke in his answer, after he had againe very sollemly protested theire obligations to your Ma^{tie} and theire generall inclination to that which I had propounded in youre name, fell to aske me what warrant I had of the like desire in those Princes; I replied with beseeching him to consider that this motion came not onely from youre Ma^{tie} as you were King of Greate Britaine, or particuler freinde to this state (which were individuall considerations), but rather as you stode in a communitie of affection towards them with others, and as you were heade of the saide Germane Union, so as youre Ma^{tie} in that qualification could not be supposed to have made a proposition of this kinde, without a well-informed foreknowledge how the whole bodie did incline, which you had good opportunitie to understande by a late Ambassadour sent unto youre Court, namely, the Baron of Danahe from the Electour Palatine youre sonne in lawe, director of the foresaid Union. Hereupon the Duke told mee that it should bee putt into speedie consultation and such care bee had of it, as is due to all your Ma^{ties} wise and christian motions. Now, touching this matter, to speake with humble freedome mine owne poore conceipt. I finde by the Count Palatine's lettres unto mee a good disposition there, and the like here, by sundrie answeres from the Senate; but I doubt it will stick upon who shall beginne; both parties would be woe for reputation sake, and the Germané Princes as being manie seeme to expect the first offer from a single Commonwealthe. On the other side they would here perchance be glad of such a civil excuse (if the Pope or the King of Spaine should be angrie or jealous at this forayne amitie) to be able to saie that they were not the seekers. Betweene which cerimonious respects the substantiall are drowned both politique and spirituall, I meane, as I knowe youre Majestie doth, as well the advancement of conscience as of state. Onely now my hope is that youre Majesties intercession will import a prioritie, and soe cease that scruple, which I will heere attend and pursue in the best manner I can.

I must end with mine owne most humble and hartie thanckes

unto youre Matie about myselfe; that it hath pleased you (for soe Mr. Secretarie Naunton hath given me knowledge) to designe mee to treat in youre Royal name betweene the Emperour and the Bohemians; wherein, besides my zeale to youre Matie and to youre owne glorie, I have likewise a zeale to the cause, which I hope wilbe some vaile to myne other infirmities. I doe therefore with all submission expect the honour of youre Majesties commaundments and instructions both in this and the rest of youre good pleasure, according to the long devoted fayth and duety of

Your Majesties

humble poore vasal,

From Venice this

HENRY WOTTON.

5th of Marche, 1618,

Stile of England.

No. XXXI.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[The Hague, March 8th, 1619.]

The States are advertised of a suspension of armes betwixt the Emperor and the Bohemians, and a day appointed for a treatye of pacification the 12th of y^e next month. They heare at the same time of a succours prepared for the Emperour at the cost of Spaine, but provided by the Archduke, of 12^m foote and 2000 horse, which makes them here despaire very much of the affaires of the Bohemians, in that their suspension of armes will separate their troupes, and breede a slacknes in those whome they have moved to assist them, whilst in the meane time their ennemyes will have leysure to prepare themselves, and bring their forces from remote partes. The succours of this State wilbe (as I conceive) 50^m florins a monthe for the space of a yeare, so to be continued according to occasions, to which Holland and Zeeland have already consented, and those two Provinces doe comonly give the law to the rest.^a

^a Printed in the Carleton Letters (1780), p. 347.

No. XXXII.

FREDERICK V., ELECTOR PALATINE, TO JAMES I.

[Tanner MSS. lxxiv. fol. 252.]

[Heidelberg, March 14, 1619.]

SIRE,

Comme ce m'a esté un singulier contentement d'entendre par le raport bien ample que le S^r Baron de Dona m'a faict à son retour par deça la digne consideration et declaration qu'il a pleu à V^{re} Ma^{te} faire sur les poincts de sa negotiation, et en outre favorizer par le S^r Carleton V^{tre} Ambassadeur celle qu'il avoit pres de Messieurs les Estats Generaux; ensemble le bening accueil dont vous l'avez voulu honorer, et par ou je recoy nouvelles preuves, tant de vos bonnes et tres louables intentions envers le bien public, que de vostre paternelle affection envers moy particulierement. Aussy me sens je obligé d'en remercier bien humblement V^{re} Ma^{te}: et specialement de ce qu'il luy a pleu avoir aggreable la prorogation de nostre alliance, dont je donneray advis à Messieurs les Princes unis, tien-dray la main à ce qu'ils en donnent et fournissent leur ratification au temps prefix, et ne perdray cependant les occasions que le temps me presentera de vous en rendre tres humbles services; Ne doutant pas que V^{re} Ma^{te} ne soit desja advertie par le dit S^r Carleton, de la responce provisionelle que lesdits Estats ont donnée au dit Baron de Dona; et puisque je suis encores en attente de leur resolution, pour alors la communiquer à V^{tre} Ma^{te}, et recevoir sur ce son bon conseil, je ne m'arrestera icy plus long temps sur ce sujet.

Quant aux affaires de Boheme V^{re} Ma^{te} scait que pour tenter un accommodement et pacification, l'Empereur a consenti à une interposition de quelques Electeurs de l'Empire et du Duc de Baviere; en suite de quoy, apres plusieurs allées et venues, on a enfin assigné aux entremetteurs et aux interessez le quatrieme jour d'Avril prochain styl ancien, affin de s'assembler à Eger, ville de Boheme située sur les frontieres d'Allemagne, et acheminer lesdites affaires à un traicté

de paix: y aiant apparence que ladite journée pourra avoir son progréz, et qu'encores que d'avanture lesdites Entremetteurs ne s'y puissent rendre en personne au commencement si-estre qu'ils ne laissent d'y faire les preparatifs par leurs Ambassadeurs: et de mon costé je n'obmettray rien de tout ce qu'y dependra de moy, utile à procurer la tranquillité commune, me conformant aux bons advs que V^{re} Ma^{te} m'a departis. Mais d'autant qu'il ny a encorres aucune suspension d'armes ains qu'au contraire, on travaille chaudement à faire sous le nom de l'Empereur des levées de gens de guerre tant à pied qu'à cheval, en plusieurs endroicts et nommement en Flanders, Brabant, en la Franche Conté, es pays de Luxenburg, d'Elsee, et ailleurs, outre celles qu'y s'avancent en Espagne et Italie bien que pour le regard des Bohemiens il ne soit aucunement de besoing d'un sy grand armement, veu que leur armée s'est fort affoiblée par la contagion quy y a regné. Il est à craindre que la plus grande partie des Ministres de sa Ma^{te} Imp^{le} au desceu et pendant l'indisposition d'icelle, ne portent par la suggestion des Jesuites et autres malveillins, leur conseils aux extremités, et qu'ils ne visent à ce but de prescrire auxdits Bohemiens des conditions injustes, et insupportables, affin de tirer l'affaire en longueur, pour les matter, et puis prendre sujet de rompre tout à-coup le fil du traicté qu'on aura entamé, et les jetter par la force des armes en la derniere periode de leur totale ruine, ou pour le moins les contraindre de recevoir les conditions contraires à leur liberté et incompatibles avec l'exercice de leur Religion, et par consequent desavantageuse à tous les autres Estats Evangeliques. J'estime que pour obvier à tels inconveniens et donner plus de poids à ladite interposition V^{re} Ma^{te} feroit un tresbon œuvre, et s'accroistroit la louange que ses saintes et pacifiques intentions luy ont j'a acquise par tout, s'il luy plaisoit de faire représenter le plustot que possible sera au Roy d'Espagne, tant par votre resident à Madrid que par celuy d'Espagne estant pres de vous, que tout ainsy que V^{re} Ma^{te} a faict plusieurs bons devoirs en la Germanie et singulierement envers moy pour aider à faciliter les moyens dudit accomodement, dont s'en est ensuivi cette preparation, et acheminement

à un traicté; de mesme aussy V^{re} Ma^{te} se veut promettre que le Roy d'Espagne, qui l'a requise et sollicitée de ce faire, inclinera non seulement de son costé à la voie de douceur, mais aussy y exortera sa Ma^{te} Impl^e la maison d'Austriche et ceux quy la conseillent en cas occurrences. Et s'il plaisoit à V^{re} Ma^{te} de contribuer par son Residant à Bruxelles les mesmes bons offices envers l'Archiduc Albert, y adjoutant ces motives, que la continuation des armes et la violence ne peut sinon allumer dans l'Empire, au grand dommage tant du chef que des membres d'iceluy, un feu plus difficile à esteindre que ne le pensent peut estre ceux qui le fomentent, attendre qu'en ce cas d'extremité et d'oppression les Estats de Boheme pourroient trouver de l'assistance pour opposer la defensive à une si violente offensive, je m'asseure que telles admonitions et autres semblables que je remets à la prudence de V. Ma^{te} produeroient leurs fruiets au bien dadict accommodement.

Davantage encores que l'offre que le Roy tres-chrestien a faicte, tant par son residant à Vienne que par le Duc de Nevers, d'y entre-mettre son nom et autorité se soit passée quelques espace de temps sous silence, sy-estre que V. Ma^{te} pourra voir s'yl luy plait par la copie cy-jointe d'une lettre escrite na-gueres par ledit Residant à l'un des directeurs de Boheme (laquelle je receu seulement hier) que l'Empereur le Roy Ferdinand, et les estats de Boheme mesme (jacoit que quant aux dits Estats je n'aie pas encores apris leur declaration sur ce sujet,) ont desja accepté ladite office, et que ledit Duc de Nevers et Residant aiant charge de vacquer à cesdites affaires n'attendent que l'opportunité de s'y employer. C'est pourquoy je supplie V^{re} Ma^{te} de considerer sy pour aider à tenir l'equilibre et favoriser le succez de ladite journée, elle ne trouveroit pas à propos de deputer et envoyer suivant l'offre qu'elle en a voulu faire quelcun de sa part ayant cognoissance des affaires, avec de prendre son chemin par icy pour y recevoir toute information necessaire, et correspondre avec moy et ceux de mon conseil apportant avec soy outre son instruction, des lettres de creance à l'Empereur, au Roy Ferdi-

nand, à ceux du conseil Impl^e députés pour assister audite traicte aux Estats de Boheme, et aux Interposants.

Pour fin de cestes j'y ajouteray encores ce mot, que je suis adverti de la continuation des differents et mesintelligence d'entre les Roy de Dannemarc et de Sueden au lieu que je me promettois d'apprendre le succez d'une bone reconciliation par l'abouchement qu'y en avoit esté proposé, mais qu'y n'a pas esté effective. Et puis qu'il importe bien fort à tous les Etats Evangeliques, d'aider à addoucir aussy cest affaire, et que le credit et autorité de V^{re} Ma^{te} peut beaucoup envers tous les deux, je vous supplieray bien humblement de s'y employer, ce n'est pas que je ne me tienne de la bonne volonté de V^{re} Ma^{te} en cest endroit. Ains je pren cette franchise envers icelle pour luy tesmoigner le desir que j'ay de la seconder en ce qu'y concerne le repos publiq, et surtout de pouvoir meriter l'honneur de V^{re} bienveillance paternelle par les devoirs et respects que requiert le veu que j'ay faict de demeurer tel que je suis à tousjours, Sire,

De V. Ma^{te},

Tres obeissant fils et serviteur,

De Heidelberg, le

FREDERIC, E. P.

xi^{me} de Mars, 1619.

No. XXXIII.

FREDERICK V., ELECTOR PALATINE, TO JAMES I.

[Tanner MSS. lxxiv. fol. 250.]

[Heidelberg, March 1st, 1619.]

SIRE,

Depuis l'expédition de ces mienes lettres j'ay receu celles qu'il a pleu à V^{re} Ma^{te} m'escire, en dates du 21 de Febvrier dernier, et apres avec beaucoup de contentement, que V^{re} Ma^{te} continuant d'embrasser fort affectueusement et vivement le bien des affaires de Bo-

heme, envoie pardeça pour cest effect suivant son offre et declaration une sy signalée ambassade en la personne du S^r Viconte de Doncastre, les merites duquel me sont cognues de longue main. Je ne faudray en attendant sa venue d'employer tout mon possible, pour aider à preparer la voye d'un amiable accommodement, et pacification desdites affaires, n'ayant rien en plus grande recommandation que le restablissement et entretenement du repos, et tranquillité publique, le respect deu aux bienveillantes exhortations qu'il a pleu à V^{re} Ma^{te} adjoutés en sesdites lettres et l'acquit de l'obligation que j'ay à son service, m'assurant que V^{re} Ma^{te} jugera selon sa prudence acoustumée que ce n'est sans apparence que quelques uns prennent ombrage de tant de preparatifs de guerre quy se fort es endroicts mentionnés en mesdites lettres, et lesquelles ainsi que portent les advis qu'y m'arrivent d'heure à autre se renforcent de plus en plus, au lieu que cependant ceux quy y travaillent ne parlent que d'accommodement, et touttefois semblent viser à un autre but. Estant à craindre qu'iceux aians avec le temps les occasions en main, ils ne se departissent de leur declaration presente au desavantage de la liberté, tant des Estats de Boheme, que de tous les Estats Evangéliques, ainsy que plusieurs estiment tels preparatifs de guerre viser principalement à se maintenir en la possession de la grandeur et autorité Impériale, au cas que Dieu retirast sa Ma^{te} Impl^e. Cest pourquoy je supplieray V^{re} Ma^{te} de considerer si elle n'estime pas estre d'autant plus à propos de faire envers le Roy d'Espagne et l'Archiduc Albert les instance, dont j'ay requis V. Ma^{te} par mesdites lettres, affin de les disposer à donner lieu à la paix et de tirer d'eux quelques assurée declaration sur ce sujet, et en cest endroict je prie le Createur, Sire, vous avoir en sa digne protection. De Heidelberg, ce xii. de Mars, 1619.

De V. Ma^{te}

Tresobeissant fils et serviteur,

FRIDERIC, E.P.

No. XXXIV.

SIR THOMAS EDMONDES TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Domestic, cvii. 38.]

[March 17, 1619.]

My Lord of Doncaster maketh accompte to be ready to departe from hence in the Easter weeke,^a in his journey to Germany for the accomodating of the broyles in Bohemia; but, for that it is doubted that the Emperour may be dead before his arrivall there, he caryeth a provisionall instruction to be applied to the present occasion.

No. XXXV.

JAMES I. TO THE ESTATES OF BOHEMIA.

[Draft. State Papers. Germany.]

[Westminster, March 29, 1619.]

JACOBUS Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, etc. Nobilissimis et splendissimis inclyti regni Bohemici Baronibus, equitibus, ac civitatibus, amicis nostris dignissimis omnique studio et officio orrandis salutem, et prosperos rerum successus. Nobilissimi et splendidissimi ordines, amici clarissimi:—Quod invitos vos arma sumpsisse significatis, quo liceret in pace vivere fruentibus patrio jure, et privilegiis majorum vestrorum, spes major nobis oboritus periculosum illud bellum, quod apud vos excitatum vicinos quoque populos afflavit, jam posse extingui. Nihil enim obstare videtur, si vos parati estis honestum bellum honesto otio commutare, quo minus Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ sua restituatur tranquillitas, quum et Serenissimus Hispaniarum rex nostram in ea pace procuranda operam serio rogaverit. Ne igitur partibus nostris, quibus jampridem nec sine voluptate assuevimus, nunc deesse videamur, et vetus conciliandæ concordiae studium deserere, quam sanctam tectam

^a March 28—April 3.

S. R. I. vica-
rios.^a

S. R. I.^a

Cetera coram
intelligere erit
ex ipso vice-
comite, cui
eandem cupi-
mus haberi
fidem quæ
nobis ipsis
præsentibus
deberetur. Va-
lete, Dat. A
clause of cre-
dence.^b

apud Christianos Principes manere primum nostrum votum semper fuit, secundum vero læsam quam primum resarciri; Nobilem hunc et illustrem virum, Jacobum Haium, Doncastriæ Vicecomitem, Consanguineum et Consiliarium nostram, compertæ nobis fidei et industriæ, quem *ad Cæsarem quoq. et regem Ferdinandum Legatum* misimus, vobiscum volumus communicare consilia, discentem ex vobis quæcunque ad pacem faciendam conservandamque futura sunt aptiora, et rebus ipsis pro virili suo parte testantem, quanto nos affectu illustrissimos Bohemici regni Ordines prosequamur; quos ut militiæ laude, ita observantiæ *in Cæsarem* nullis cupimus esse inferiores, easque æquanimitate sua conditiones pacis *mereri* quas nec pudeat supremam potestatem dedisse, nec *subditos* pœniteat accepisse, ut post belli tempestates sudum videatis et fidum serenum nosque ex vestræ felicitatis constantia solidum et duraturum percipiamus gaudium. Datum e Palatio nostro Westmonasterii vigesimo die Martii Anno 1619.

No. XXXVI.

FREDERICK V., ELECTOR PALATINE, TO JAMES I.

[Tanner MSS. lxxiv. fol. 207.]

[Heidelberg, ^{March 25,}
April 1, 1619.]

SIRE,

Le Roy Ferdinand m'ayant notifié par ses lettres, outre celles que j'avoy desja receues d'ailleurs, le trespàs de l'Empereur advenu le $\frac{10}{20}$ de ce mois de Mars entre sept et huict heures du matin apres une assez longue maladie et indisposition de sa Ma^{te} Imp^{le}, mon devoir me fait en donner à V^{re} Ma^{te} ce mot d'avis, lequel toutefois pourra avoir esté parvenu (ainsi que je l'estime) par les advertissements de

^a These two alterations must have been introduced afterwards, when the news of the Emperor's death, on $\frac{10}{20}$ th of March, reached England. The passages in italics are underscored in the original.

^b Marginal alteration.

Bruxelles, puis que le courrier qu'on a envoyé en Espagne pour y porter les nouvelles, y a passé. Et comme un tel accident ne peut sinon estre suivi d'un grand changement, aussy est il fort incertain sy la journée qu'on avoit assignée en la ville d'Eger pour faciliter un accommodement desdites affaires de Boheme par le moyen de l'interposition que V^{re} Ma^{te} sçait aura son progrès. C'est pourquoy je differe d'y envoyer, et plus encores de m'y transporter, jusques à ce que j'aye entendu les intentions tant dudit Roy Ferdinand, et des conseillers de feu sadite Ma^{te} Imp^{le}, que des Estats de Boheme et des autres entremetteurs touchant ladite interposition ; et je faudray de tenir V^{re} Ma^{te} advertie de ce que j'en apprendray et des occurrences que le temps produira. J'ay par cydevant informé V^{re} Ma^{te} de la charge et dignité du vicariat et administration de l'Empire es pays du Rhin le Suevie et du droict Franconien (du resort desquels dependent environ les deux tiers de l'Empire) que la Bulle d'Or defere à cette Maison Electorale en ce cas d'Interregne, estant chose hors de doubte que, pour prevenir les effects de ladite administration à cause de la Religion dont je fay profession, l'Electeur de Mayence à l'instigation de ceux qui n'y portent pas leur affection, diligentera tout aussy tost d'aider à avancer et arrester l'Election d'un Roy des Romains incontinent apres le temps prescrit en ladite Bulle d'Or. Toutefois puisque je me sens obligé envers ma posterité d'exercer et maintenir au possible un droit et dignité sy relevée, je suis deliberé de ny rien negliger servant au bien public et au particulier de cette dite Maison, me promettant de la bienveillance paternelle de V^{re} Ma^{te} qu'il luy plaira ainsy que je l'en prie bien humblement m'y tendre la main de son prudent conseil et favorable assistance. Quant aux affaires de Boheme, les levées faictes soubz le nom de l'Empereur en divers endroits (selon que par mes precedentes je l'ay faict entendre à V^{re} Ma^{te},) s'avancent fort. D'autre costé les Estats de ce Royaume ont en leurs dernieres assisse prise nouvelle resolution d'employer leur vies biens et moyens pour opposer de tout leur pouvoir le defensive à une si violente offensive, cas qu'on ne voulait donner lieu à l'équité et à la raison ;

ayant à ces fins mandé outre leur gendarmerie le soiziesme homme de chascune ville, et le vingtiesme des communautes du plat pays; les seigneurs et la noblesse estant resolu de monter tous à cheval. Aussi ont lesdits Estats degradés de toutes charges et dignités les Estats de la Religion Romaine, qu'y se sont separés d'eux, et bannis ceux quy durant ces guerres se sont retirés hors du Royaume avec confiscation de leurs biens, quy est signe d'une grande resolution desdits Estats à contribuer le verd et le sec pour la conservation de leur liberté et Religion. Le temps esclaireira bientost le trains desdites affaires, et le plis que prendront celles de l'Empire après la mort de sadite Majesté Impériale. Davantage j'ay advis de divers endroits qu'accuse de ces derniers troubles quy se meuvent en France, le Roy tres chrestien est deliberé de se transporter à Metz en personne; qu'y est aussi une circonstance d'importance, et dont je seray soigneux de signifier la suite à V^{re} Mat^e, laquelle je supplieray m'honorer cependant de la continuation de ses bonnes graces et de croire que je suis à tousjours,

Sire,

De Votre Majesté

Très-obeissant fils et serviteur,

FRIDERIC E. P.

De Heidelberg, à 25^{me} de Mars, 1619.

No. XXXVII.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[The Hague, ^{March 30,}
April 9, 1619.]

MY Lord of Doncaster will find a house prepared for him and his followers by the States; and mine likewise putt in the best readines I shall be able for his Lordship's better commoditie; to which effect I write at this present unto him uppon the notice I take from your Honour of his Lordship's cuming.

The two Agents for the Bohemians (of whose cumming I advertised your Honour in my last of the 26th of this present and likewise of theyr proposition to the States) as yet have no answeare, the consent of this province of Holland touching a supplie of money being conditioned that the like be performed by his Majesty and the Princes of the Union: which hath spurred on these Agents to sollicite my recommendation to his Ma^{ty} in theyr master's favour; which as on the one side I can not denie them (and therfore beseech your Honour to make theyr humble sute knowen to his Ma^{ty}) so on the other I have done them the goode office to perswade his Excellency and the States to doe that of themselves as they thinck fitt to performe for theyr preservation; as his Ma^{ty} will not be wanting in that which shall depend uppon him. For yf they will attend the time of a common consent theyr ayde will be lesse beneficial then now, when the Bohemians are in most neede. This hastening of the States resolution is much desired by the Prince Palatin, to which effect his Highness hath written unto me, in which regard I conceive it will be agreeable to his Ma^{ty}, though I have no expresse order for the same.

No. XXXVIII.

THE ESTATES OF BOHEMIA SUB UTRAQUE TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Prague, April $\frac{2}{15}$, 1619.]

SERENISSIME et Potentissime Rex ac Domine, Domine Clementissime.

Magno nobis solatio est, in hac adversa fortuna, qua ob retinendam puræ religionis libertatem, Deo ita permittente, conflictamur, Regiæ Majestatis Vestræ benignissime faventis causæ nostræ suscepta erga nos benevolentia. Ita enim nobis a certis hominibus diversis ex locis nunciatur, ardentem exitiali bello patriam nostram Majestati vestræ adeo curæ esse, ut laborantis in ea Ecclesiæ pericu-

losum statum sibi quoque aliqua ratione tuendum existimet, proque eximia pietate vereque regia munificentia sua, nos commoda amplectens pecuniæ summa, tamquam belli pro religione gerendi nervis, sublevare humanissime statuerit.^a Quæ quidem tanta tamque præstans et eximia subveniendi nobis periclitantibus voluntas si ita nobis offeretur ut aliqua ex parte meritis quibusdam nostris tribui videretur, haberemus fortassis in quo nobis ipsis jure gratularemur. Sed cum nihil sit in nobis hujusmodi per quod Regia Majestas Vestra ad tantam benignitatem adducta esse videatur; agimus quidem ipsi gratias quantas possumus maximas, sed ita, ut sub hoc ipsæ gratiarum actionis gravissimo onere nos pænè opprimi fateamur. Tanta est ista bonitatis et beneficentiæ magnitudo, nostraque in referenda gratia tenuitas. Cum vero prætereà excelsus iste ac liberalis Regiæ Majestatis Vestræ animus juvandæ imprimis Ecclesiæ, quæ nunc apud nos grassantium hostium impetu et machinationibus quasi procellis tempestatibusque jactatur, commodum spectet et complectatur: agnoscimus in eo singularem immortalis Dei Domini nostri providentiam, qui, ut nos sibi verè cordi esse ostenderet, etiam ex remotissimis terris tantum Regem tantumque causæ et religionis nostræ patronum excitavit: cujus excellenti subsidio et rem religionis defendere, et vim atque conatum hostilem propulsare facilius liceret. Postquàm igitur divino planè munere id consecuti sumus, quod principio horum motuum optare magis quàm sperare, ob locorum scilicet maxima intervalla, potuimus, ut in Regiæ Majestatis Vestræ fidem clientelamque reciperemur, oramus eandem humillimis animis ut, et eodem erga nos animo esse perseveret et oblata illius pecuniæ beneficium quàm maturrimè nobis exhibendum clementem instituat. In quo Majestas Vestra tum immortalis gloriæ laudique suæ tum nostris hoc tempore angustiis et necessitatibus luculenter et egregiè satisfactum est. Et quamquam illa istius veræ pietatis et beneficentiæ suæ fructum a Deo Opt. Max. eum capiet, quo nihil potest fieri præstantius; nos tamen quoque debito Regii nominis cultu et observantia aliisque officiis omnibus, in id dies noctesque

^a This sum of money only existed in the imagination of the Bohemians.

incumbemus, ne maximi Regis magnifica liberalitas benignitasque in ingratos collocata esse umquam cuiquam videatur. Interim precibus assiduis, ut Majestati Vestræ perpetuò benè sit, optataque ipsius feliciter prosperèque eveniat, a cælesti semper numine petemus. Dab. in arce Pragensi xii die Mens. Aprilis. Anno MDCXIX. Regiæ Majes: V^{tre} devotissimi

Barones, Equites Pragenses, Cutteni, et cæteræ Civitates Regiæ, omnes tres Ordines inclyti Regni Bohemiæ Evangelicam religionem reformatam profitentes.

No. XXXIX.

SIR JOHN FINETT TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT.^a [Extract.]

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Heidelberg, April 11, 1619.]

I can perceyve little motion in this preynce and state farther then wyshing well to the Boemians cause and provyding for his owne countryes savegard, if the now assembling powres of the Archdukes should (to shorten theyr way) force their passage thorowe the skyrtes of his territoryes; and as for what we talke of in England, if his Ma^{ty} would helpe with men and mony (of the latter wherof your honor best knowes our wants) how easy it were to translate the Imperiall crowne from the head of Austria upon this of the Count Palatin, I see no suche ambition heere, no more then I heere there is in Saxony; both loathe to embarke them selves in a busynes that is lyke to trayn wyth it a consequence of continuall trouble and opposition, perhaps for many ages. And as for the Archduke Albert (howsoever Ferdinand be in so fayr a way of election as to be possest him self already, if the Estates' caveat so forceably put in hinder not of the casting voyce of Bohemia,) I could not heere at Brusselles that he him self (lookyng

^a Secretary of State in Lake's place, since February 16th, 1619.

upon his age and bodily indisposition) did anyway aspire to yt, but that the Archduchess swells with the wrong she seemes to have, that of a Kyng's daughter and syster shee cannot (because her housband wyll not) be made the wyfe of an Emperor.

No. XL.

INSTRUCTIONS TO VISCOUNT DONCASTER.

[Archives of Simancas, 2599, fol. 103.]

[Royston, April $\frac{14}{21}$, 1619.]

Y^NSTRUCCION que el Rey de Ynglaterra ha dado al Vizconde de Doncaster, su Embaxador extraordinario que va á Alemania.

Aviendo su M^a dado al Vizconde de Doncaster todas las instrucciones necessarias para Alemania juntamente con cartas á los Principes y Estados della de proposito para dar breve fin á las rebo- luciones y discordias de Bohemia, y para persuadilles á que empleen todas sus diligencias y medios para que la eleccion del Rey Ferdi- nando venga á tal efecto que sea nombrado por Emperador.

Y despues de aver hecho esto lo parecio á su M^a que, aviendo el mismo recibido los agravios o querellas de los Bohemios, entregarlos al dicho Vizconde juntamente con su opinion y parecer, y con los remedios que entiende son necessarios para la composicion de las contiendas ó pleitos de Bohemia, del qual parecer y opinion de su M^a se ha mandado al dicho Vizconde se aproveche segun viere que es licito y conveniente para efecto de apaciguar las discordias que ay entre los Bohemios y Rey Ferdinando.

Primeramente que por inducimientto y traças de personas mala- fectas, como son los Jesuytas entre otros, los de la religion de Bohe- mia han sufrido por muy largo tiempo y por muchas vezes muchi- simos agravios y injurias corriendo peligro de caer devajo de la sujecion de Roma, no obstante que en el año de 1609 y de 1610 se ha servido el Emperador muerto por sus letras patentes, y de

la general Junta de Estados con parecer publico de entrambas religiones, se sirvieron de ordenar y confirmar que asi la una como la otra parte pudiesen quietamente en todo lugar y en todo tiempo servir á Dios conforme à sus diferentes modos de religion, sin ninguna interrupcion ni molestia causada de autoridad espiritual o temporal, como mas largamente consta de las dichas patentes, acuerdos, y ordenanças confirmadas y ratificadas por el Emperador Mathias al principio quando reyno en Bohemia.

No obstante esto, los dichos adversarios no solamente interrompieron su quietud, reusando de firmar los articulos de amistad, mas á lo contrario por palabras y escrito han publicado ser ellos notorios herges, y que por esto no avia obligacion de guardalles fee ni palabra, incitando al Magistrado secular contra ellos con manifesto peligro.

Y aviendo ellos escogido por general consentimiento a ciertas personas principales por protectores y defensores de nuestra religion, los dichos adversarios suyos han buscado maliciosamente por varios medios y diligencias con que irniesen en discordios y disinsiones, para con mas facilidad arruynallos á ellos y á su religion, y con aver prouesto la indinacion del Emperador, para con algunos los han inducido y persuadido con temor promesas y esperanças de honra y dignidad á que dexasen su religion, contra toda cónciencia y conocimiento de la verdad, y que se juntasen con ellos en contradicion de los Bohemios.

Y los dichos adversarios hallaran favor para quitar los oficios á los capitanes de la profesion de los Bohemios, y para meter en sus plazas otras de su faccion, con mucha molestia de los de su profesion, y ni mas ni menos á sus Ministros se les han quitado sus oficios, teniendo ellos licencia para predicar en los pueblos, poniendo en su lugar á Sacerdotes; como tambien en Praga alcanzaran los dichos adversarios los principales oficios, de manera que por amenazas y otros medios atrayeron muchos á su religion.

Con aquellos modos de proceder los Alcaldes y consejo de la nueva, vieja, y pequeña Praga, siendo todos ellos de la religion reformada, fueron compelidos á juntarse con los demas lugares de su pro-

fesion, y para sponerse á esta violencia la cual procedio de muchos caminos y modos astutos sagazmente imbentados contra ellos en esta junta, de los estados superiores los de la religion por si y en nombre de los demas, se determinaron á suplicar á su M^d Imperial por escrito los tenga por desculpados si con peligro de sus vidas quieren se cumplan perfectamente las dichas patentes, declarando tambien que les es prohibido de edificar por autoridad pribata de los adversarios Yglesias en lugares dependientes de monasterios, no obstante de que fue acordado por las dichas patentes de otra manera como de ellos consta.

Y aunque los dichos estados estando juntos dieron al Emperador noticia destos y otros agravios hechos á ellos en derogacion de las dichas letras patentes, acuerdos, y ordenanzas, esperando buena respuesta con tiempo, fue de tal manera tratado el negocio por sus astutos adversarios que no fue posible tener respuesta mientras duro la junta o consejo. El Emperador dixo á Mathias Duque de Turin, protector de los protestantes, que no ha entendido su peticion de ellos, y que por esto havia dado autoridad al Obispo de Praga para que diese fin al negocio; diziendo su M^d que no queria ser mas molestado con esto; pero con todo eso á la humilde peticion del dicho duque fue servido el Emperador de mandar á su chanciller que pusiese á questa su respuesta por escrito; mas aunque fue pedida con mucha instancia no se alcanzo. En el interin, por orden del Arzobispo de Praga, la Yglesia de Cloistergrave, edificada por los protestantes, á la qual obra muchos Principes electores contribuyeron fue derribada: y por que los de Brunano quisieron entregar al Abbad aquella yglesia, que les fue permitido por las ordenanzas de la union, muchos de los principales ciudadanos fueron citados y puestos en la carcel.

Y por quanto ciertos juezes arbitros en nombre de entrambas partes se juntaron en Praga, con esperanças de algun buen acuerdo, lo en que se resolvieron fue que los protestantes hiziesen una humilde supplicacion al Emperador y otra al Regente, las quales fueron embiadas á Bianna asi para librar los prisioneros ciudadanos de Bruna, como tambien para informar los demas de otras muchas desordenes, y

para mejor efectuar esto desearan tener otras suplicaciones semejantes de los estados de Moravia, Silecia, y Lesuitz, y luego despues el Emperador embio una carta aspera al Regente, en la qual condeno á los protectores y á los tres estados; los puntos de la qual carta son los siguientes:

Primeramente entendio el Emperador que la Junta se hizo en derogacion de la suprema autoridad de su imperial y real persona:

Y que asi la destruccion de la yglesia en la ciudad de Cloistergrabe como el castigo de los desobedientes ciudadanos de la ciudad de Bruna, perteneciente al monasterio, ha sido por orden y mandato de su M^d Imperial:

Y que havian procedido mas adelante en aquellos casos de lo que les fue concedido por las patentes letras de su M^d ó de la autoridad que los dos estados de entrambas religiones tuvieron del Emperador:

Y ultimamente, que havian entretenido estrangeros y aprovechandose dellos en materias ilicitas, y que havian mantenido y defendido una manifiesta desobediencia y motin contra su M^d Imperial, y que havian procurado defender los en ella, lo qual su M^d nunca entendio especialmente de algunos dellos que irniesen á ser autores de tal negocio. Añadiendo por conclusion que avian abusado su favor y clemencia y que havian procedido mas adelante de lo que era razon, y que por esto avia de mirar su M^d mejor en el negocio, y castigar á cada uno segun merecia, prohibiendo espresamente de hazer semejantes juntas, y mandando á los moradores de las ciudades que no se hallasen presentes en ellas.

Por la qual carta constaba el poco respecto que usaban para con su M^d y los agravios y peligros que se havian hecho a los de la religion, aviendo supuesto algunas faltas que son capitales segun las leyes del Reyno por donde pudo acaecer que siendo inocentes fuesen puestos en quistion y peligro.

Entonces dieron informacion de muchos abusos secretos hechos fraudalosamente y por fuerza con proposito de desarraygar la religion reformada, ó por lo menos de arruynar los profesores della, y ultimamente dezian que procedian contra dos de los principales de la

faccion contraria, que son Slauuatan y Borcitana, los quales como perturbadores les havian quitado los officios, y que querian castigar à un cierto hombre que se llama Michna, el qual se ha ausentado, y todo esto en sentimiento del Emperador, y para el bien y quietud de la tierra, supuesto que la parte contraria quiere vivir en paz; y asi esperan que su M^d no sera ofendido, siendole dada verdadera informacion de sus razones, y de la paz que de alli sera continuada en el Reyno.

La intencion
del Rey de
Ynglaterra
sobre las que-
xas de los
Bohemios.

Siendo estos los principales agravios de los dichos Bohemios, ha mandado su M^d entregarlos al dicho Vizconde de Doncaster, para que por alli tenga medios para usar dellos segun viere que conviene; y a fin que su jornada sea a proposito para lo que se trata su M^d es de opinion,—

Primeramente, que las condiciones de los Jesuytas sean limitadas dentro de su funcion, y que no se metan en materias de Estado;

Que el Rey Ferdinando se acuerde del juramento que ha hecho en su coronacion, el qual no debe ser quebrantado;

Y que los protestantes quietamente gozen de las patentes, acuerdos, y ordenanzas hechas en tiempos pasados en su favor por los Emperadores, Reyes de Bohemia: y que se de libertad a los prisioneros arriba nombrados, con restitution de sus estados y bienes, con la conuiniencia posible.

Que cada uno de los oficiales de su parte sean puestos en sus officios como de antes.

Y aviendose hecho esto no duda su M^d sino que el negocio tendra buen subceso, y que se veran las dos partes en paz con bastante poder de los buenos intercesores que estan de por medio para resistir á la violencia del Turco, enemigo comun de todos; y su M^d ha dado poder y libertad al dicho Vizconde de Doncaster para añadir á estas razones las suyas conforme viere que conviene para las ocasiones que se ofrecieren.

Dada en Roiston á 14 de Abril de 1619.

JAMES R.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

INSTRUCTIONS given by the King of England to the Viscount Doncaster, his Ambassador-Extraordinary, going to Germany.

His Majesty having given to the Viscount Doncaster all the instructions necessary for Germany, together with letters for the Princes and States of that country, in order to put a speedy end to the revolutions and discords of Bohemia, and to persuade them to use every endeavour and means that the election of King Ferdinand may be so managed that he may be named as Emperor:—

After he had done this, his Majesty determined to deliver to the said Viscount Doncaster the grievances and complaints of the Bohemians which he had received, and at the same time to declare to him his opinion and advice, as well as the remedies which he understands to be necessary for the adjustment of the opposing claims put forward in Bohemia; and his Majesty has commanded the said Viscount to make use of this opinion and advice as he shall see it to be lawful and convenient for the pacification of the quarrel between the Bohemians and King Ferdinand.

In the first place that, by the inducement and plots of evil-disposed persons, such as, amongst others, are the Jesuits, those of the religion in Bohemia have suffered for a very long time again and again very many grievances and injuries, running the risk of falling into subjection to Rome, notwithstanding that in the years 1609 and 1610 the late Emperor, by his letters patent^b issued in the general diet of the Estates, with the public approbation of both religions, was pleased to ordain and confirm that both the one party and the other should be able in every place and at every time to serve God in quiet after their different modes of religion, without any interruption or molestation caused by spiritual or temporal authority, as is shown more at length by the aforesaid patents, agreement,^c and

Complaint^a of
the Bohemians.

^a Founded on, but not translated from, the First Apology of the Bohemians.

^b The "Majestätsbrief."

^c The agreement between the Estates of the two religions drawn up after the signature of the "Majestätsbrief."

ordinances, confirmed and ratified by the Emperor Mathias at the beginning of his reign in Bohemia.

Notwithstanding this, the aforesaid adversaries not only interrupted their quiet, refusing to sign the articles of agreement, but on the contrary have publicly declared that they are notorious heretics, and that there is therefore no obligation to keep faith or promise with them; inciting the secular Magistracy against them to their manifest danger.

And they having chosen by general consent certain principal persons to be the protectors and defenders of our religion, the aforesaid adversaries have maliciously sought by various means and contrivances to bring about discord and dissension, in order they may with the greater ease ruin them and their religion, and have held before their eyes the Emperor's indignation, so as to have induced some by fear, or by promises and hopes of honour and dignity, to leave their religion, contrary to their conscience and their knowledge of the truth, and to join with them in opposition to the Bohemians.

And the aforesaid adversaries found favour so as to deprive of their offices the chief men^a of the confession in Bohemia, and to put in their places others of their own faction,^b with great molestation of those of the confession, and in the same way they have taken away from the ministers their offices, though they had licence to preach in the towns, and replace them by priests; in Prague also the aforesaid adversaries have taken possession of the principal offices, so that by threats and other means they draw over many to their religion.

By this mode of proceeding the magistrates^c of the old, the new, and the lesser city of Prague, being all of the Reformed Religion, were compelled to join with the other cities of their confession, and in order to oppose themselves to this violence, which proceeded by

^a "Auf Ihrer Kay. May. Herrschaften." Apol. Boh.

^b In 1617 Thurn was replaced by Martinitz as Burggrave of Carlstein.

^c "Bürgermeistern und Raht." Apol. Boh.

many ways, and by cunning methods craftily invented against them, those of the religion in that diet of the superior Estates,^a for themselves and in the name of the remainder, determined to supplicate^b in writing his Imperial Majesty to hold them free from blame if at the peril of their lives they requested the complete execution of the aforesaid patents, declaring also that they are forbidden by the private authority of their adversaries to build churches in places depending upon monasteries, notwithstanding that the right was otherwise desided by the aforesaid patents, as appears by them.

And, although the aforesaid Estates, being met, informed the Emperor of these and other injuries done to them in derogation of the aforesaid letters patent, agreements, and ordinances, hoping in time for a satisfactory answer, yet the business was so managed by their crafty adversaries, that it was impossible to have an answer during the time that the meeting or council lasted. The Emperor said to Mathias Duke^c of Thurn, protector of the Protestants, that he had not understood their petition, and that he had therefore given authority to the Bishop of Prague to bring the business to a conclusion. The Emperor also said that he did not wish to be troubled any more with this matter; yet, at the humble supplication of the aforesaid Duke, the Emperor was pleased to command his Chancellor to put this his answer in writing; but, although the fulfilment of this order was earnestly requested, it was not done. In the meanwhile by the order of the Archbishop of Prague the church at Klostergrabe, which had been built by the Protestants, and to which many of the Prince Electors were contributors, was pulled down; and because the people of Braunau sought to obtain from the Abbot the delivery of the church, as was permitted to them by the ordinances made at the accord, many of the principal townsmen were cited and imprisoned.

^a The Herrenstand and Ritterstand.

^b The supplication of the Diet held in 1615 referred to here is printed in "Die Grosse oder andere Apologia." Beilage, No. 85.

^c Count.

And, certain judges having met at Prague as arbiters in the name of both parties, with hope of a good agreement, that which they resolved upon was, that the Protestants should prefer a humble supplication to the Emperor and another to the Regents,^a the which were sent to Vienna to demand the liberation of the imprisoned townsmen of Braunau, as well as to give information of many other disorders, and to effect this they desired to have other similar supplications from the Estates of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, and immediately afterwards the Emperor sent a harsh letter^b to the Regent, in which he condemned the Protectors and the three Estates. The chief points of this letter were the following :

In the first place the Emperor considered that the assembly had met in derogation of the supreme authority of his Imperial and Royal person:—

That both the destruction of the church in the town of Klostergrabe, and the punishment of the disobedient townsmen of Braunau, a place which belonged to a monastery, had been in consequence of the orders and commands of His Imperial Majesty :—

That they have proceeded further in these cases than could be justified by the concessions made in the letters patent of His Majesty, or by the authority which the two Estates of both religions had from the Emperor:—

And lastly, that they had maintained strangers,^c and had made use of them in unlawful matters, and had unanimously defended manifest disobedience and rebellion against His Imperial Majesty; and had attempted to defend them in it; the which His Majesty never expected, especially of some of them who had just been the authors of such a deed; adding in conclusion that they had abused his

^a "Den Herren Statthaltern." Apol. Boh. The ten Regents appointed during the absence of Mathias.

^b Printed in "Dei Andere oder Grosse Apologia." Beilage, No. 99.

^c "Frembder Underthanen;" i.e. vassals of others, viz. of the Archbishop of Prague and the Abbot of Braunau.

favour and had proceeded further than was right, and that His Majesty would therefore have to look more closely into the affair, and to punish every one according to his deserts, expressly prohibiting the holding of such assemblies, and forbidding the inhabitants of the cities to be present at them.

By this letter appeared the little respect which was shown them by His Majesty, and the injuries and dangers to which those of the religion were exposed, charges having been brought against them of certain crimes which are capital by the laws of the realm, whereby it might happen that, though they were innocent, they might be brought into question and danger.

Furthermore, they gave information of many secret attacks made by fraud and force with the intention of rooting out the reformed religion, or at the least to ruin those who professed it; and lastly they said that they proceeded against two of the principal men of the contrary faction, namely Slawata and Martinitz,^a whom as disturbers of the peace they had deprived of their offices, and that they wished to punish a certain man named Michna, who was absent, and that all this was done in good feeling towards the Emperor, and for the good and quiet of the land, if only the contrary party would be willing to live in peace; and so they hope that His Majesty will not be offended, as they had given him a true account of their reasons, and of the peace which from thenceforth will be kept in the kingdom.

These being the principal grievances of the aforesaid Bohemians, His Majesty has ordered them to be placed in the hands of the aforesaid Viscount Doncaster, that he may then take means to use them as he may find convenient; and, in order that his journey may be effectual for the success of his negotiations, His Majesty is of opinion,—

First, that the Jesuits should be limited to their own functions, and that they should not meddle with matters of state;

That King Ferdinand should remember the oath which he took at his coronation, which ought not to be broken;

^a Jaroslaw Borzita von Martinitz.

The intention of the King of England upon the complaints of the Bohemians.

That the Protestants should quietly enjoy the patents, agreements, and ordinances granted in past times in their favour by the Emperors, Kings of Bohemia; and that liberty be given to the above-mentioned prisoners, with restitution of their estates and goods, as soon as may be conveniently possible;

That every one of the officials of their party be replaced in their offices as they were before.

And when this has been done His Majesty does not doubt that the business will be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and that the two parties will agree together peacefully, sufficient power being given to the good mediators who are to effect the accommodation between them, to resist the violence of the Turk, the common enemy of all: and His Majesty has given authority and liberty to the aforesaid Viscount Doncaster to add his own arguments to these, according as he sees fitting under the circumstances which may arise.

Royston, the 14th of April, 1619.

JAMES R.

NO. XLI.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

[State Papers. Holland.]

[April 2^d, 1619.]^a

MY LORD,

I have thus long desiered to returne your Lordship answere to your loving and curteous letters, because I could not before advertise you of the time of my departure hence, which is now prefixed about Saturday next. Your Lordship shall hear from me agayne by the first commodity I can make after I have taken my leave. In the meane time it may please you to receyve my humble thanks for your favor and curtesy, and to beleeve that I doe esteeme it a principall happines that I shall have opportunity to confer with you

^a A Letter received from Pembroke on the same day and by the same bearer, is of this date.

about the busnes imposed on me, and receyve your Lordships advise for my government therin before I enter on it, whereupon I doe build much of my hope of the successe. And so hoping very shortly to have the honor to see your Lordship, and then to enlarge further, I humbly rest

Your Lordship's very affectionate and faythfull servant,
DONCASTER.

[*Indorsed.*] From my Lord of Doncaster: received by my Lord Lisle the 21 of April, 1619.

No. XLII.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Domestic, cviii. 51.]

[London, April 17, 1619.]

The Lord Hay^a prepares to be gon the next weeke for Germanie, whether Sir Isaac Wake is taking his journey this day by the way of Antwerp and Brussels, then to Heidelberg and to the rest of the Princes of the Union. The King knighted him in his bed, and told him he was the first that ever he made in that manner.

No. XLIII.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.^b [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[The Hague, $\frac{\text{April } 23,}{\text{May } 3,}$ 1619.]

HEREWITH goeth a letter to his Ma^{ty} from the States written in favour of the Bohemians, which is recommended to my conveyance

^a Doncaster.

^b Printed in the Carlton Letters.

by the Bohemian agent, and I am likewise much and often solicited by him to further his Master's affaires with his Ma^{ty} according to the hope was given by the Baron Dona in his passage this way, of an intention to help them by a lone of the cittie of London, which not succeeding, the States begin to retract their graunt of a monthly entertainment, having sent for him two dayes since into theyr assemblie, to lett him know how little theyr assistance could serve his master's turne, unlesse they were likewise ayded by his Ma^{ty} and the Princes of the Union; yet to Captain Franche they have given credit for some money for the raysing and arming of 1000 musquetiers.

No. XLIV.

LORD DANVERS TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. [Extract.]

[State Papers, Domestic, cviii. 82.]

[April 27, 1619.
May 7,

THE Viscount Doncaster is at this instant stayd for a few dayes to receave further instruction upon these late advertisements from the Palsgrave^a although he had been dispach[ed] sithence if the Kings sicknes h[ad not] hindred it.

No. XLV.

JAMES I. TO THE STATES GENERAL OF THE NETHERLANDS.

[Transcripts from the Archives of the Hague, Add. MSS. 17,677, I. fol. 422.]

[Whitehall, April 30,
May 10, 1619.]

JACOBUS, Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae Rex,

^a On the 1th of May the Dutch Commissioners in England wrote that Plessen had arrived as an Ambassador from the Elector Palatine, and that his coming has delayed Doncaster's departure. (Add. MSS. 17,677, I. fol. 418.)

Fidei Defensor, etc. Illustrissimis atque amplissimis Dominis Confe-
deratarum Provinciarum Ordinibus, amicis suis dignissimis omni-
que officio et studio ornandis, salutem et prosperos rerum successus,
etc. Quum, plurimis inducti causis Bohemicum bellum quod Ger-
maniæ tranquillitatem superiore æstate non leviter concussit, ex-
tinctam cupiamus, Nobilem hunc et illustrem virum Jacobum
Haium, Doncastriæ Vicecomitem, consanguineum, consiliarium et
familiarem nostrum ab interiore cubiculo, compertæ nobis fidei et
industriæ, quem ad Sacri Romani Imperii Vicarios eo præcipuè no-
mine legatum mittimus, ad amplissimum et splendidissimum vestrum
consessum volumus accedere; non solum, ut in transitu nostra
Vobis deferret officia, et Reipublicæ Vestræ nobis conjunctissimæ
prospera omnia et felicia nostris verbis optaret; quanquam si nihil
aliud esset, non ingratam fore arbitremur sinceram hanc benevolen-
tiæ nostræ et amicitios significationem, sed etiam ut de magni mo-
menti rebus, quas ad vestrum senatum nostro jussu referet, benevolè
illi et promptè vestrum impertiamini consilium; quod quin eodem
affectu, quo a vobis jam petitur, præstituri sitis nullo modo dubita-
mus, mutuum hic, ut cæteris in rebus, a vobis expectantes amorem
et studium. Cætera ex ipso Vicecomite licebit scire, et pari omnino
fide, ac si nos ipsi coram loqueremur. Valete, viri illustrissimi, et
prosperè feliciterque agite.

JACOBUS R.

Dat. e Palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
30^o Aprilis, anno 1619.

No. XLVI.

WILLIAM TRUMBULL TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Flanders.]

[Brussels, May 1st, 1619.]

SIR Isaac Wake passed this way on Monday laste,^a and before this
tyme (I hope) is at Cullen.

^a April 26.
May 6.

No. XLVII.

THE ESTATES OF BOHEMIA SUB UTRAQUE TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Prague, May $\frac{5}{13}$, 1619.]

SERENISSIME et Potentissime Rex ac Domine, Domine Clementissime.

Postquam multorum nunciis literisque cognovimus S[erenissimam] Majestatem Vestram in ista sublimi et ard[ua re]rum maximarum administratione, ad cr[udelem et du]ram patriæ nostræ, inque ea afflictæ E[cclesiæ con]ditionem oculos deflectere, nobisque dud[um] pro aris et focis pugnantis, ac priva[?] bellum diuturnum gerentibus [?]tis suæ ærario certam aliquam pec[uniæ summam mitte]re velle; egimus statim Deo Opt. Max. [?] maximasque gratias, qui in augustia conj[ectis fi]delibus suis hanc subitam spem, hæcque imp[?]sub[sidia] commonstravit: egimus quoque per lit[eras Ma]jestati Vestræ easdem summisque animis gr[atias pro] hac summa ac plena pietatis et beneficent[iæ huma]nitate: quæ quidem facit ut Regii Vestr[i]] quasi luminibus non officiat ista et fortu[nata dig]nitatis altitudo, quo minùs Majestas Ves[tra nobis] respiciat, operaque et gratia, opibus etiam [nos ser]vandos sublevandosque statuât. R[ogamus] Majestatem Vestram ut id quod facere sanctissime decreverat, faciat eò alacriùs quò magis quantum in subveniendi celeritate situm sit intelligat. Verùm sintne eæ literæ satis feliciter perlatae, ignoramus: neque liberalis hujus et munificæ vereque regiæ voluntatis effectum hucusque vidimus. Constituimus igitur ad Majestatem Vestram has alteras dare literas; non ut eam hujus benignissimè oblati officii admoneremus, quam a succurrendi periclitantibus veræ ecclesiæ membris laudabili et præclaro proposito latum unguem non discessuram certò persuasum habemus: sed ut aliqua extaret nostrorum animorum significatio si forte priores illæ literæ interierint, quanti faciamus Regis maximi et præstantissimi propensam ad nos

fovendos ac sustentandos voluntatem. Neque enim silentio præteriri debet ista Majestatis Vestræ erga nos clementia, neque nos committere decet, ut donationibus promissionem acceptio beneficii nobis inurbanè tacentibus præveniat. Ipsum jam beneficium ad non longum tempus spe magna expectabimus, contendemusque vicissim omni ope, atque elaborabemus ut nostra quoque officia et studia erga Majestatem Vestram, si minus præter status nostri medicritatem exim[ia] magnaue fuerint, a gratissimis tamen mentibus profecta videantur. Deus Regiam Majestatem Vestram ut semper cura custodiatue tueatur. Dat. in arce Pragensi die xv mens. Maii, anno M.D.CXIX. Sereniss. Regiæ Majest. V^{re} devotissimi

Barones, Equites, Pragen[sis, Cutteni] cæteræque civitates Regiæ, [omnes tres] Ordines Incltyi Regni Bohe[mie] Evange[licam] Religionem reformatam [profitentes].

No. XLVIII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT.

[State Papers. Flanders.]

[Canterbury, May 6, 1619.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Your two letters of the 4th of this present came safely to my hands at Gravesend the next day, at such a distance one after the other as I suppose they were written, which I doe specifie thus particularly to doe the messengers right.

For them both, and your affectionate care expressed in them to let me understand his Majesties commandements both speedily and fully, I am first to give you many humble and hearty thanks, and then earnestly to pray the continuance of your favour in that kinde hereafter, then which there can be none of stronger obligation to me.

And now to answer your last first, though I presume his Ma^{ty}

hath long ere this understood his commandements to hasten me were given after my departure, yet I beseech you to give his Highnes satisfaction therein from my owne hand, with assurance that, if his Ma^{ty} may please to forgive my other errors in this great employment, I shall never aske his pardon for my indiligence, and for my present justification in that poynt it may please you, Sir, to remember his Ma^{ty} that he never spake word to me of those jewells till Sunday. On Munday my Lord Chamberlayne and the other Commissioners for that busines were at Theobaldes to receyve the French Ambassador, which occasioned my stay that night; and on Tuesday, though I might have pretended my attending the returne of those jewells from Court, and knew the shippe appoynted for my transportation was still held in the river by vehement contrary windes, yet for his Ma^{ties} better satisfaction I resolved to set forward rather then linger any time at London, though I could have there spent it more to my contentment and advantage then I can lying idly here, as I feare I shall doe yet some dayes.

I must now goe backe to your former letter, though it be against my heart, as appeares by my deferring to come to it. The place where that unlucky letter from M^r Trumbull was found hath now put me in remembrance that upon Saturday, when I presented my selfe to receyve his Majesties directions to the contents, I had taken the wicked paper out of my pocket in a readines, and his Ma^{ty} commanding me at the instant to fetch him a drinke, I layd it downe on the table, and there his Ma^{ties} sudden going abroad made me forget it then and ever since. I doe here inclosed returne it to you, wishing you better fortune in the keeping thereof, and at my arrivall at Brusselles will give his Ma^{ty} a further accompt of his commandements therein.

Touching the overture made by the French Ambassador, let me pray you to present my most humble thanks to his Ma^{ty} for honoring me with so early advertisement thereof, and relye upon your timely remembrance for my future information of the progresse and conclusion of that motion, if there result any more then

you have already delivered unto me, which I shall not fayle faythfully to observe.

And so praying God to continue his Ma^{ty} in perfect health and happines, wherein my owne is included, I wishe you all your owne wishes, and rest

Your most affectionate tru friende and servant,

DONCASTER.

Canterbury, this 6th May, 1619.

No. XLIX.

NATHANIEL BRENT TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Domestic, cix. 19.]

[May $\frac{8}{18}$, 1619.]

My Lord of Doncaster set forward for Bohemia on Tuesday night^a very late, or on Wednesday in the morning, exceeding early. Some thinke his journie wil cost his Ma^{tie} 30000^{li} at the least, wherof he hath receaved good part alreadie.

No. L.

SIR GEORGE CALVERT TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[May $\frac{8}{18}$, 1619.]

SOME few days since His Ma^{tie} received a Letter from the States generall in favour of the Bohemians, touching which businesse my Lord of Doncaster is furnished with instruccions sufficiencyent from his Ma^{tie}, as hee passeth by that way. But in the meane time his Ma^{tie} hath commaunded mee to signify unto you his pleasure that to the

^a May $\frac{4}{11}$.

proposicion which the States have made for some succours and support from his Mat^{ie} to the Bohemians, hee would have you lett them knowe, as you see fitt occasion, that hee cannot yet assist them either with forces or money, in the tearmes hee now stands: for it is well knowne that at the earnest request of the King of Spaine, and seconded since with a desire from the Bohemians themselves, and from the Count Palatine, his Mat^{ie} hath taken upon him to bee a mediator of peace betweene King Ferdinand and them, and, that depending, if his Mat^{ie} should supply them with forces or money, hee should make himself a party, and not indifferent for such an office, wherein his honour is deeply engaged.

No. LI.

SIR GEORGE CALVERT TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

[State Papers. Holland.]

[Theobalds, May 9, 1619.]

MY LORD,

If by contrariety of wynds it should so fall out that my Lo. of Doncaster should resolve to passe immediately for Brusselles, and not come at all through the United Provinces; as for his speedier dispatch his Mat^{ty} hath commaunded him to do, rather then to loose any tyme, the affaires of the Bohemians requiring necessarily his instant repaire thether; in that case he is directed by his Mat^{ty} to send unto you as well his letters to the States, and to the Prince of Orange, as also the Instructions which he received from his Mat^{ty} for his negotiation there with the Prince of Orange and them, which in his steed you are to take as directions to yourself, and to proceade with them accordingly, as likewise to deliver his Mat^{ts} letters to the Prince and the States which my Lord of Doncaster will send you, and to make his excuse for his not passing that way in regard of the great diligence he is to make to render himself in Germany with all

speede possible. And, this being as much as at this present I have to recommend unto you, I rest

Your Lordshipp's very assured friend,

GEO. CALVERT.

Theobaldes,

9 May, 1619.

No. LII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT.

[State Papers. Flanders.]

[Canterbury, May ¹⁰/₂₀, 1619.]

SIR,

Before your last of the 9th of this moneth came to my handes this 10th in the morning, the winde is turned so well about that I hope the ship appoynted to transport me is ere this well on the way to Margate. Yet for more surety I have dispatched a messenger expressly to the vice admirall, letting him know the commandement I have receyved from his Ma^{ty} unles he can be this night at Margate, and another to the barke that is loaden with my baggage (which hath beene likewise all this while held in the Thames) requyring my servants to make all possible speede to Flushing, and unles they receive a countermand from me to goe from thence to Antwerpe, and so to meete me at Brussells.

Myself am in the meane time this afternoone resolved to goe to Dover, and there to attend the returne of my messengers, which I hope will soone after overtake me. Thus much it may please you, Sir, to let his Ma^{ty} understand for his satisfaction of my diligence, and so I rest

Your most affectionate frende and servant,

DONCASTER.

Canterbury, this 10 May 1619.

No. LIII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

[State Papers. Holland.]

[Dover, May 11, 1619.]

MY LORD,

After I had lyen here neere the sea side six or seven dayes in expectation of a winde to transport me to Flushing and thence to the Haghe, I have receyved a commaundement from his Ma^{ty} to passe over to Calais, and from thence to make all the speede I may to Bruxelles, and so forward on my journey.

Which, as it was and is a great grieve to me, in respect of the losse I shall thereby sustayne many wayes, but principally in my affectionate desire to have kissed your Lordship's handes and beene advised by you how to beare myselfe under the waighty affayres now on my arme, so on the contrary I cannot but rejoyce, in contemplation of the good of his Ma^{ties} service, that those things which I had in charge to deliver to the States will by this occasion fall into the managing of a hand both by nature and practice infinitely more dextrous. For his Majesties pleasure is (as will more fully appeare to your Lordship by the inclosed from Mr. Secretary Calvert) that your Lordship doe first excuse unto the States my not coming to them according to their expectation and his Maj^{ties} purpose, upon the unhappy contrariety of windes and necessity of my making all possible speede into Germany, having bene already long retarded upon many occasions, and then that your Lordship doe further represent unto them as much as I should have done yf I had found opportunity. And to that end I am commanded both to send unto your Lordship his Ma^{ties} letters to the States and the Prince of Orange (which I doe here inclose) and also to acquaint you with all the instructions towards them I received from his Ma^{ty} by word of mouth, which to my best remembrance were these:

1. First, to have saluted the States from his Ma^{ty} in the most affectionate manner, wishing unto them all prosperity, &c.

2. Secondly, to have given them many hearty thanks for their tender care of his Ma^{ties} health, and loving congratulation of his happy recovery.

3. Thirdly, to have made them understand how much discontentment his Ma^{ty} hath receyved from the disagreement of their merchants and his after so long and paynefull a treaty of accord.^a But that now his Ma^{ties} health will permitt him to hearken agayne to their differences, his Ma^{ty} is nothing doubtfull but he shalbe able to compound them with equity, and, their association being a matter that so neerely and highly concernes the weale of both countries, his Ma^{ty} will neither spare any travayle to effect it, nor be in any thing more partiall to either side, then if they were both his owne subjectes.

[4.] Fourthly, to have communicated with them his Ma^{ties} intention in sending me on this Ambassade into Germany, which is to mediate a peace in Bohemia, whereunto his Ma^{ty} is moved at the earnest request of the King of Spayne concurring with his private affection to the good of Christendome, and of the Empire in speciall, for other waighty reasons, and that of their neighborhood not the least. That his Ma^{ty} shall thinke it a great honor, and happines to him, if he can bring this good worke to passe by his unworthy instrument, upon such conditions as may be honourable for King Ferdinand, and safe for the States of that countrey. But, in case his endeavours shall not take this wished effect, that then, as his Ma^{ty} had commanded me now at my entrance on this high employment to be informed and advised by the States, which your Lordship is now to doe more happily in my stead, so if the issue should be so unhappy, his Ma^{ty} will then also consult with them what further resolution is fitt to be taken.

Lastly, to have saluted the Prince of Orange from his Ma^{ty} with his most affectionate commendations, and after hearty congratulations for the happy change his wisdom and courage hath induced in that State, to have insinuated the confidence his Ma^{tie} hath to

^a On the East India Trade. The treaty was finally signed on the $\frac{2}{12}$ of June.

receyve herafter better sâtisfaction thence, and to be cleared that their former misunderstandings proceeded from no ill disposition in that people towards his Ma^{ty}, but from the malignity of those evill instruments^a which through their owne faults and his vertue are now removed. These, my Lord, are the rude heades of his Ma^{ties} commandements, which I leave to your polishing, who can reduce them neerer to the life they had from his Ma^{ties} sacred lippes then my pen, which shall now trouble your Lordship no longer, after I have prayed you when you have given his Ma^{ty} an accompt hereof to honor me also with so much as may have any influence into my negotiation, and this with such expedition that if it be possible I may receyve it before my departure from Brusselles, where I will attend this favor from you and your commandements as

Your Lo. most humble and most affectionate servant,

DONCASTER.

Douer, 12th May,
1619.

My Lord, your Lordship hath here opportunity to oblige me if it may please you to descend so low as to present my regret unto the States that I misse the honor to be acknowledged by them as one of their most affectionate and humble servants. The copy of his Ma^{ties} letters to them was not delivered me, by a mistake of the Secretary for the Latin tongue, but I have prayed Mr. Secretary Naunton to send it directly to your Lordship. The copy of the other to the Prince of Orange your Lo. here receyveth.

No. LIV.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

[Holograph. State Papers. Holland.]

[Dover, May 12, 1619.]

MY LORD,

Now that by this packet you have all consernes the publike,

^a Barneveldt and the Arminians.

this inclosed shall present unto you what I had in charge for your Lordship's pryvat, being desyrous for so worthy an instrument in his Maties servinge to be and prove in deed an Evangelist, for wiche cause I did desire to know his Maties resolutione towards your Lordship, who comandid me to assure you that he had your Lordship's great parts and servisis in highe estimation, wiche he would make appeare to your selfe, and to me as witness of his royall promes, wiche to me was never broken by him, suche testimony as should be worthy of the geve and reserver. This in haist from him that is infinitely your Lordship's humble servant,

DONCASTER.

Dover the twelt of May.

No. LV.

SIR ISAAC WAKE TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Heidelberg, May 12, 1619.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

I made so much hast to come hither, that I rested in no place more than a night betwixt London and this towne, and it was my ill fortune to come to soone. For I found the Prince and his Highness absent at Manohem, whether they were gone to accompany the Lady Harrington in her journey for England, so that I was forced to languish here three dayes, and to lose so much time which was very pretious unto me, considering the activity of this season.

As soone as their Highnesses did returne, I had audience of them, and have ever since been treated with such extraordinary respect that I should be glad your Honour would procure his Matie to take notice thereof. For, notwithstanding that I had no quality at all to dignifie mee, they have been pleased to lodge and defray

me in the Court, and to grant mee free accesse unto their persons without any reservation, and in matter of negotiation his Highness hath proceeded with mee with all maner of freedom and confidence, which I do account the greatest obligation of all the rest.

The Bohemians (as this Prince doth tel mee) are very strong, their army consisting of 30^m foot, and almost 8^m horse. Moravia is nowe wholly at their devotion, and it is not likely that province will start any more, considering that the Jesuites are nowe banished from thence, the Abbots and Popish Prelates brought under the obedience of the temporall magistrats, the Cardinal Dietristain^a confined to his house, and such of the Barons restrained as were averse or suspected. The Upper Austria (which did consist most of Papists) is joined with the Bohemians in a stout association, and it is presumed that the Lower Austria, where the Protestants have the upper hand, will soone followe the example. In Stiria and Carinthia many of the nobility and gentry have combined themselves together for the defence of the reformed religion and the liberties of the country, and, if a revolt do insue in those parts, the Archduke Ferdinand may thank himselfe, in that he hath unseasonably urged those States to accept of the Jesuites as the fourth *estat du pais*, when as hitherto those provinces have never acknowledged but the clergy, nobility, and gentry for *les trois estats*. I know not, at this distance, howe boldly I may affirme the truth of these advertisements, for I take them as they are written to this Prince from his correspondents in those parts. But it is likely that the Bohemians have as yet the better of the game, in that they are about to beseige Budweis, which doth argue that they are masters of the feilde. On the other side, the Austriaci are not wanting to helpe themselves, for 1000 horse are already passed out of Flanders to their succor, and 8^m Wallons are now marching through Alsatia, to joine with the Count of Burquoy.

The Archbishop of Mentz hath summoned the Imperiall Dyet at Francfurt against the 12th of July, and he hath cited the Arch-

^a Dietrichstein.

duke Ferdinand to appeare as King of Bohemia. But it is thought the States of Bohemia will protest against him, and send Commissioners unto the Dyet, with power to dispose of that voice, as hath been donne heretofore uppon the like occasions. The Princes of the Union have prevailed so far with the Duke of Saxony, as that he hath lately written a letter to the Bishop of Mentz, wherein he doth desire him to call an assembly of the Electors before the Imperiall Dyet, that the controversy of the Bohemians may first be decided, and the Electors know whom to accept for their principal associat. But the Bishop hath absolutely rejected this motion, alleaging that no doubt ought to be made of Ferdinand's right to that crowne; so that it should seeme they mean to cary the buisnes *à hault lut*; and it is feared that Saxony will not resent this affront. This being all that I have learned in these parts worth your Honour's knowledge, I humbly take leave, and rest,

Your Honour's most faithfully to command,

ISAAC WAKE.

From Heidelberg this 12 of May,
1619. st^o. vet.

No. LVI.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Flanders.]

[Calais, May 13, 1619.]

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

By the commodity of the returne of this worthy gentleman, the vice-admirall of the narrow seas, who hath honored my passage with his person, though he could not with the shippe made ready for me, I am glad to advertise you of my safe arrivall at Calais, where, though I were altogether unexpected, yet so soone as the governor, Mons^r d'Arquian, heard of my being in towne, he came to salute me, and used me with all sort of humanity, and some very

extraordinary, as the leading me with many of my company into the cittadell, which is here an unusuall curtesy to strangers of what quality soever.

If the French Ambassadour have not yet taken leave, I should be glad his Ma^{ty} would be pleased to take notice of thus much to him, but to conceale from him the author of the intelligence. The governor hath in confidence deposed with me of the present estate of the affayres of this Kingdome, which he pretendeth to have newly receyved from the Kinges owne letters.

The summe wherof is, that the Queene mother, finding the conditions she formerly demanded likely to be granted her without any great difficulty in respect of the King her sonnes good inclination to give her all reasonable contentment, hath thereupon taken occasion to enhance them to her further advantage, requiring now to have the government of Anjou, and of the cittadell of Angiers and Pont d'Arce, which keeps the whole river of Loyre in command, together with the government of Guiene, also projecting thereby to gayne a powerfull hand in those parts through the bordering of those provinces upon Angolesme and Augoulmois, whereof the Duke of Espernon is governor.

The King is very much offended and troubled herewith, and he on the other side for the establishing of his Luynes is desirous to seate him in the government of Picardie, as joyning to that he hath already of the Isle of France, that so, his father in law being governor of Amiens, they may be a mutuall strength one to another in these quarters. And to this purpose the Duke of Longueville is effectually dealt withall to accept of Normandie in exchange of that his government, and is likely to embrace the condition. Yet notwithstanding all this affectionate care of the Kinges to preserve his favorite's greatnes, it is here generally thought, and rather hoped then feared, that he will runne the Mareschall d'Ancre's fortune, as he is sayd to have done too many of his courses.

This accompt I thought myselfe bound to give his Ma^{ty} of the

half day I spend here to repose myselfe and my company after our commeng from sea, intending to dine to morrow at Grewling, if it please God, to whose blessed protection I commend you and myselfe.

Your most affectionate and faythfull servant,

DONCASTER.

Calais, this 13 May, 1619.

[*Postscript.*] The King is at Tours with an army of 25000 foote, besides 3000 horse, with the army which Mons^r de Mayne hath in Guyen of 8000 foote and 500 horse. Mons^r d'Esperton hath only 5000 foote and 1000 horse as I am advertised.

No. LVII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

[State Papers. Holland.]

[Calais, May 13, 1619.]

MY LORD,

I cannot satisfye my grieve with complayning once, and that by occasion of my ill fortune in missing the honor of wayting on your [Lordship] in your kingdome now this second time, and will therefore trouble your Lordship w[ith] thus much more upon no further busines, but only to assure you that as the ill hap is, so the losse shall be only mine. For I pray your Lordshippe to beleieve that I am not so lefthanded an interpreter of favors as not to esteeme my selfe equally obliged to your Lordship for the honor I understand you intended to have done me above my merit, as if you had performed it in effect. This if your Lordship doe now doubt of you shall be satisfied to be whensoever I may find the happines your commandment to give you a demons[tra-

tion] thereof by my service. Meane while it may please you to credit

Your Lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,
DONCASTER.

Calais, 13th May, 1619.

My Lord, I have taken the boldnes to write a few lines to the Prince of Orange and his brother Count Henry, which I pray your Lordship to deliver by one of your servants.

No. LVIII.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR GEORGE CALVERT. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[The Hague, May 1st, 1619.]

WITH your honor's letters of comission bearing date at Theobalds the 9th of this present, I receaved others of instruction from my Lord of Doncaster from Dover and Callais of the 12th and 13th, all which with his Ma^{ts} letters to the States Generall and the Prince of Orange came to my handes the 16th, and accordingly the day following I had audience of the States and his Excellency. I began with the States with the presentation of my Lord of Doncaster's letters of credence, and alleadging the reasons of his taking another way into Germany, and then indeavoured to make appeare unto them as cleare as I could, taking *lumen ex lumine*, his Ma^{ts} affection: first, by his kind salutacons; next, by his gracious acceptance of their congratulating his recovery; thirdly, by his good intention in the business of the East Indies marchants; and lastly, by his confidence in communicating unto them the subject of my Lord of Doncaster's Ambassage, which, as likewise the other points, I expressed in those termes, as by his Lordship was prescribed unto me; according as your honor may please to see in the extract of his

lordship's letters. The three first points answered with due and ample acknowledgement of his Ma^{ts} favor, insisting much in that of the marchants of the East Indyees, which they earnestly recommended to my furtherance with his Ma^{ty}; but in the last it seemes they expected more then I had to deliver, for, howsoever they approved his Ma^{ts} princely care of conducting the affaires of Bohemia to a peaceable end by way of Ambassage, yet it seemes both their judgement and affection leades them to have the Bohemians supported by some real assistance, to which purpose they declared unto me what resolution they had taken in giving a monthly ayde of money, and demanded of me whether I had any further matter to open unto them of his Ma^{ts} intention in conformitie to the hope that was given by the Baron Dona at his last returne this way out of England; which when I sayde I had not, but that his Ma^{ty} was first to be informed by my Lord of Doncaster of the state of those affaires, and that then (in case his indeavours to make such a peace which might be honorable for King Ferdinand and safe for the States of that country should not take this wished effect,) he would advise with them *de agendis*, they seemed unto me rather answered then satisfied, for they apprehend that King Ferdinand's peace with the Bohemians carries by consequence the Imperial crowne that way, and, he being a stirring Prince and ruled by the Jesuits, they dowbt will breede more businesse in Europe then the two last Emperors, which were both faineants. This his Ex^{ty} plainly delivered unto me, but the States went not so far; only they indeavoured to make appeare by the advertisements they have of the conjunction of the Moravians to the Bohemians, and a readiness of other peoples adjoyning to runne the same course, that there is great likelihood of an important alteration in those parts for the good of Europe, and advancement of religion, yf it were well cherished and timely seconded.

No. LIX.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Flanders.]

[Brussels, ^{May 22,}
June 1, 1619.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

By your letters of the 10th of this moneth, which I recayved here late yesternight the 21st of the same, I perceyve both those I sent to you from Canterbury came safely to your handes. And I have no doubt of two I wrat to you afterwards, one from Dover by the post (wherein I took notice of the receipt of your cypher), and another from Calais by the Vice-admirall, although I finde it expedient to make this mention of them, because if they ran no misfortune they should have beene delivered to you much before this bearer's departure from Greenwich, by whom I have receyved no one word from you, though he sayth your servants were acquainted with his dispatching towards me.

The occasion Mr Trumbull hath to returne him presently into England obligeth me to put you to this trouble, which I would otherwise have forborne for a time, having as yet nothing further to advertise you then of my safe arrivall at Bruxelles the 21st of this moneth, and of the great honor hath beene already done and more intended to his Ma^{ty} in my person. For I was very solemnly met without the towne by the S^r de Marles, *chef des finances*, appoynted to receyve me, being assisted by the Comte d'Embden, the Comte de Solse, the S^r de Coupigny, second *chef des finances*, and accompanied with a good number of the principall nobility in towne, wayted on with some 25 or 30 coaches to accommodate my trayne at my entrance. The S^r de Marles offered and indeede pressed to have conducted me to the Prince of Orange his house, which was here provided and exceedingly well furnished to have lodged me and my company, where there was also supper made

ready for me, and order given for the continuance of that entertainment during my abode here. But because the Comte de Noyell was not lodged nor defrayed in England, I thought it more for his Ma^{ties} honor, and therefore my duty, handsomely and respectfully to decline the acceptance of those favours, by pretending the promise I had long since made to put myselfe under my master's agent's rooffe, where I had accordingly already bestowed my baggage. And, as I am nothing doubtfull but his Ma^{ty} will be well pleased with my refusall, so I must confesse their offer of these curtesyes was the greater contentment to me, because I thereby receyved cleare and full satisfaction that the shew of neglect I found in my passage through this countrey, wherein I have not beene so much as saluted by the governor of any towne, no nor by the meanest burgomaistre till I came to Antwerp (and there not by the Governor), proceeded from no want of due respect towards his Ma^{ty} in these Princes, but was occasioned by my taking another way hither then was expected, and the affectation of state, more then civility in this people, which is the hardest interpretation that I did or that I thinke ought to be made of it. And here the nice termes his Ma^{ty} standeth in with the French King,—so farre as is here, and I am bound to take notice of them,—makes it necessary to acquaint you with a rencontre I had at Antwerp; where, being enforced to stay two dayes for my baggage, yet without any losse of time in respect of the Archduke's present sicknes, it happened that the Comte de Roche-guyon, Ambassador-extraordinary from that King to these Princes, returning into France post, came also the first day after noone to that city, and thought to have lodged in the inne I had taken up before, whereby, though he could not but knowe of my being in towne, and I needed not to take notice of his, yet he sent not any man expresly to me, but late in the evening came one of his trayne, and charging himself with a commandement to present the Baron de Tour his recommendations to me, he let me know as of himselfe of that Ambassador's arrivall, and a distemper he had gotten by the way, which

would constrayne him to keepe his chamber, and take phisicke all the next day. This I tooke to be an artifice to draw me to give him the first visit, and because the rule which in those poyntes is generall, that the last come ought to be first visited, obliged him rather to begin that office, in my construction, as havinge beene so long before me in these partes, then me for being a day before him in the towne, I resolved to stand out with him in the ceremony, least lookers on might make a wrong judgement of my forwardnes; and yet, to prevent the danger of any unkindnes, I sent a gentleman to see him the next day, and to make him an offer of my phisitian and cookes, if his owne had not yet overtaken him. He returned me thankes and the visit by his maistre d'hostel and the best of his company late agayne that night; the next morning I rejoyned the complement by S^r Robert Knollys, attended with five or six gentlemen, laying my forbearance to visite him in person upon his indisposition the day before and the necessity of my going away early that morning, and in this manner we parted without comming together.

I presume you have ere this receyved an accompt from S^r Dudley Carleton (as I have done) of his discharge of that part of his Ma^{ties} commandements which concerned the States and the Prince of Orange, wherein I shall be very glad to hear that his Ma^{ty} is satisfied with the instructions I gave him.

I feare the Archduke's sicknes will loose me here foure or five dayes before my audience, which I will endeavour to regayne by all possible diligence in my journey afterwards, and I wish my hearty thanks to God and to you for giving me such particular knowledge of his Ma^{ties} increase in health and strength, which I beseech God dayly to continue. I take leave and rest

Your most affectionate friend and

faythfull humble servant,

DONCASTER.

Bruxells, 22 May, 1619, old style.

No. LX.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

[State Papers. Holland.]

[Brussels, $\frac{\text{May } 24,}{\text{June } 3,}$ 1619.]

MY LORD,

I have thus long attended some such commodity as this to give your Lordship an accompt of the receipt of your letters of the 16th and 17th of this moneth, together with my humble thanks for them, and the honor it pleased yow to doe me in the delivering of mine; but most especially for offering me some meanes to acknowledge these and many other your favors by sending me your nephew, on whose person I may expresse the affection I beare your Lordship. I have gladly entertayned him for this journey in the quality that your Lordship and he desire, and at my returne shall use him for a guide to bringe me to your Lordship, that I may then at last have the happines of kissing your handes and receyving your commandements for England, which no friends you have there shall embrace with more zeale or execute more faythfully to the uttermost of his power then

Your Lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,
DONCASTER.

Bruxelles, 24th May, stilo veteri,
1619.

No. LXI.

SIR GEORGE CALVERT TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Holland.]

[$\frac{\text{May } 29,}{\text{June } 8,}$ 1619.]

I DID in one day receive both your letters of the 18th and 20th of May, and have acquaynted his Ma^{ty} with the contents thereof, who
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is well satisfied with your proceeding in the part you had to handle of my Lord of Doncaster's ambassage, and I have nothing to recommend unto your Lordship from his Ma^{ty} by way of further instruction touching that businesse. Howsoever the States there apprehend the consequence of the peace betwixt King Ferdinand and the Bohemians, his Ma^{ty} is of opinion that the embroyling of Germany in a warre would doe them but little good.

No. LXII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

[State Papers. Holland.]

[Brussels, ^{May 30,}
June 9, 1619.]

MY LORD,

I have no doubt but this bearer, your nephew, will doe me right in letting your Lordship understand that I am in no part of the cause of his desire to returne to yow, having offered him my purse, my table, and any thing els in my power to have wun him to a willingnes to have honored me with his company this journey. But, seing an aversation in him to the voyage, I suppose occasioned by his longing to wayte on your Lordship, I would not keepe him longer from his contentment, nor your Lordship from the happines I cannot enjoy, and have therefore taken the advantage of this occasion to gayne another by this losse, through the honor of kissing your Lordships handes as

Your Lordship's most affectionate servant,

DONCASTER.

Bruxelles, 30th May, 1619.

No. LXIII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Flanders.]

[Brussels, ^{May 30,}
June 9, 1619.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

The day of the date of my last to you, being the next after my arrivall at Bruxelles, I sent a gentleman to Mariemont to enquire of his Highnes health, and to solicit the Comte d'Anover, that, through his favor, I might be admitted to an audience, as soone as his Highnes indisposition would permitt. From whome I receyved answere that his Highnes was upon amendment, and that, by the ordinary course of his fittes, he made confident reckoning that within foure or five dayes at the farthest his Highnes would be in a state to give me accesse.

Accordingly upon Tuesday the 25th of this moneth I was conducted to Binche (a little towne aboute a league from Mariemont) by Mons^r de Rossignol, and the day following from thence to Court by the Duke d'Aumale, governor of that towne. Where after I had first saluted the Infanta (which is a respect here payd her by all Ambassadors) I was brought with honorable attendance to the Archduke, whom I found removed into a gallery for the convenience of my reception, though he rose not from his bedde till that very day. But to acquainte his Ma^{ty} with the whole truth, as my duty requireth, I found him also sitting in a chayre and no meanes provyded for me to receyve that honor, which I conceyved due to his Ma^{ties} Ambassador. I had no will, nor I thinke reason, to shew any resentment of this neglect in publike, and therefore resolved to swallow it for a while, yet not to digest it, but in due season and in a temperate maner to take notice, and demand reason thereof, as I did afterwarde to the Duke d'Aumale, and others. They at first were about to excuse it upon the example of the late extraordinary

French Ambassador, who was used in the same manner at all his audiences, and then upon his Highnes infirmity, who, they sayd, if he had beene able would have entertained me standing, as the Infanta had done. But when I replied that the French Ambassador's actions were no presidents to me; that it was not reasonable his Ma^{ty} should suffer for his Highnes' weaknes; that his Ma^{ties} Ambassador could sitt if his Highnes could not stand; then, finding I would not take such counterfeit coyne for payment, much lesse for contentment, they forsooke those fayned pretences, and gave me the true cause, which was that the Comte de Noyelles was used in the same fashion at his first audience in England, that at my next I should (as I did) finde other; wherewith I was faynè to rest satisfied, though not altogether pleased. And this I have almost generally observed in my whole entertaynment here that, as in all thinges wherein they might sett forth the glory of their owne magnificence they have beenedesirous to excede the patterne of their Ambassador's usage in Englande, so in the rest they have beene curious to keepe themselves within that measure wherein I thinke his Ma^{ty} and all the world will judge there is a great overvaluation on their part. And to exemplifye this by one instance more: At my first coming to Binche, a gentleman, his Highnes' servant, let me understand, as of himselfe, that the Comte d'Anover had a purpose to invite me to a dinner at the Court at my second audience; whom I besought to doe me the favor to prevent his offering me that honor and my giving a negative to a person I respected so much, the curtesy being such as I could by noe meanes accept, finding a necessity in myself to retire and dispose my thoughts at that time for the discharge of my master's commandments. The next day, when I had promised to sup at night with the Duke d'Aumale at his castle (where I was very nobly and freely feasted), the same gentleman came to me agayne, and told me the Comte d'Anover was nothing well satisfied with all he was able to say to him, because it did cleerely appeare by my acceptation of the Duke d'Aumale his entertaynment, that my refusall of the Comte d'Anover was groundod upon some other punctilio

then I had declared. Whereupon I brake freely with him and said, that if the Comte would invite me to his house at Bruxelles I should embrace the honor with all thankfulnes; but to be invited by him to the Archduke's house, I held to be a disparagement to the quality I sustayned. He answered that the Comte de Noyelles had bene entertayned at the Court of England by his Maties officers; and I replied, that, if it were so, it was by occasion of his Maties sicknes, seing meaner Ministers of his Highnes had been admitted to his Maties table of my knowledge, and that I was certayne the invitation was at least made in his Maties name. And so, when they found me unapt to swallow such gudgeons, I was at last invited with all respect from his Highnes, with an excuse that his indisposition would not suffer him to entertayne me at his owne table, though I must professe the cheare was royall, and I am even now also risen from a sumptuous dinner of the Marquis of Spinola.

But to bring you backe to the place where I went out of my way. At this first audience (having received assurance of another next day,) I only presented my letters of credence, discharged the ceremony of condolence for the death of the Emperor his Highnes' late brother, acknowledged thenkes in his Maties name for the like office performed on his Highnes' part toward his Maty for the death of the late Queene, and in myne owne for the honor had bene done me by his commandement in reference to his Maty, forbearing to adde any business of moment at this time, that the complement of condolence might weigh the better. His Highnes seemed indeede, as he sayd, to take the friendly respect shewed toward him by his Maty in very thankfull part, as esteeming it a great honor to him. That which he had performed toward his Maty it pleased him to call his duty. And for the honor done to me, he sayd, that it was not so much as he intended, but, seing I would accept of no more, he was well pleased for my contentment it should be such as I desired. This was all that dayes worke.

The next I had accesse to his Highnes in private, as he had desired by the Duke d'Aumale, and to that end was contented to

allowe me to speake French, and himselfe for my understanding to use the Latin, which they say his Highnes is not remembered to have done to any Ambassador that did not first begin that language to him. The summe of that I delivered this audience was to this effect: That his Ma^{ty}, though he were sufficiently perswaded that nothing concerning the house of Austriche was resolved or undertaken without his Highnes' knowledge and advise (being now the oracle of that family for his wisdom and experience), yet because his Highnesses name had not beene used in the request made by the King of Spayne to his Ma^{ty} to enterpose his endeavours for the mediation of a peace betweene King Ferdinand and his subjects, his Ma^{ty} had therefore out of his respect to his Highnes commanded me to acquaint him with that his desiring, in sending me his unworthy instrument on that ambassage into Germany, and doubted not but his Highness in sending forces to that Kinges assistance did by a divers way ayme at the same end, and had therefore further given me in charge to be counselled and directed by his Highnes, by what meanes their common intention is likeliest to be obtained.

My drift in this proposition was to put his Highnes a little to open himselfe, that accordingly I might governe my future discourse. And in conformity to this counsell, when I found by his Highnes' reply, which consisted of an acknowledgement both of his Ma^{ties} Christian disposition and singular favour to their family in this his purpose, and of an extenuation of his owne ability to contribute any more to so great and good a worke then his wishes and prayers;—when, I say, hereby and more cleerely by the manner of his Highnes expressing himselfe, I was assured his Highnes fully concurred in the same desire with his Ma^{ty}, I took that fayre passage humbly to intreate his Highnes, as of my selfe, to assist me with his effectual letters to King Ferdinand for a cessation of armes, remembering that to be the poynt which is principally required of me in my instructions, and hath beene since agayne refreshed by Mr Secretary Calvert from his Ma^{ty}, as a point the gayning wherof would be much to his Ma^{ties} honor. To this end I briefly repre-

sented to his Highnes how sutable the advancement of this worke was to his piety, inciting him further by his Maties example, who was desirous to re-establish King Ferdinand in his kingdome, though he were of a divers religion, and that therefore it would sound well abroad to the terror of the common enemy, that his Highnes with the King of Spayne enterchangeably laboured to avoyd the shedding of Protestant blood; and lastly promising my indefatigable travayle with the Bohemians Estates to bring them to hearken to such an agreement as might be safe for them, and honorable for King Ferdinand. And so, having with much forwardnes obtayned his Highnes' most willing promise of these letters to King Ferdinand (the copy whereof I send inclosed), I ceased to trouble his Highnes further with that negotiation.

And from thence I fell abruptly upon the Earle of Argyle. Concerning whom I must first let his Maty understand that at my new arrival to this place he sent a gentleman to me to know at what time he might come to visit me without my trouble. By whom I returned this rough answer, that it would be a trouble to me to see him at any time, though it were by rencontre; that for other meeting I would give him none, and then shun him too, as he did his countrey. For which roundnes, though I have sufficient warrant in the commandement layd on Mr. Trumbull (wherein I hold my selfe included), yet it may be I should have spared some part of the harshnes, if I had not beene before freshly informed that his L. hath so farre abused his Maties goodnes in sending a gentleman to him, as that he hath forced an argument from thence to magnify himself here to his Maties prejudice, which gave me just occasion of jealousy that he might make the same use of any conference he could obtayne of me upon what other pretence or discourse soever. And for this cause, to call downe the value he hath here raysed of himselfe (though he be of late fallen into much contempt, and I am of opinion his Maties neglect would bring him into skorne,) the best forme I could think of to cast my speech of him in was this: That such a Lord there was of good quality, but such as his Maty had many subjects

his equalls and some his betters, who as his Ma^{ty} was informed had put himselfe into the service of his deare brother the King of Spayne, and lived here under his Highnes' protection. Concerning whom, though his Ma^{ty} did not hold him worthy of his regard for any end of his owne, yet out of his affection to that King and his Highnes he found himselfe obliged, before they entertayned him into any neerer confidence, to let them understand his conditions, whereof his Ma^{ty} had good experience by divers employments, in all which he had betrayed his Ma^{ties} trust and sometime theirs also against whom he was employed. That for a consumation of his treachery he had now lastly run out of his countrey. That his Ma^{ty} had commanded me to deliver his Highnes this true character of the man, leaving it now to his wisdome and the King of Spayne to make what use of him they thought good.

At this last clause of the Earles being a fugitive his Highnes made semblance to be a little astonished, and professed that he was informed from the Comte of Gondomar that his Lord had licence to be out of his countrey, which I confessed to be true also with a distinction of times; and this addition, that it was obtayned by treachery (which was one ingredient in all his actions), wherupon his Highness concluded that he would signify thus much to the King of Spayne, his lord, and that they would of new advise what to doe, *secundum rerum statum*. Those were his wordes.

I continued that I was unwilling to trouble the Infanta with any such like discourse, but that his Highness might please to let her also know that the Countesse of Argyle was no lesse unworthy to be honored with any countenance from her Highnes, being a woman that had so notoriously dishonored herselfe; that their Highnes would not repute me a defamer of ladies' reputations for publishing it, if they would descend to enquire of her good name; and yet I must confesse to his Ma^{ty} that I had some care of my selfe in presuming to swarve from his Highnes' commandement to say this to the Infanta, because the roome wherein she gave me audience was very little and filled with ladies, who would have

censured me for a strange beast if they had by chance overheard me entertayne her Highness with this argument. And so, after I had craved his Highnes pardon for my importunity in pressing at first unseasonably for an audience, and his permission to kisse his handes without longer stay, in respect that I did both the one and the other for the advancement of his Highnes and the King of Spaynes service, I humbly tooke leave of his Highnes, of whom I may truly, and therefore must, give this testimony, that, besides the piety and goodnes of his nature, which appeare in his discourse, and more quicknes of apprehension and expression then his yeares and infirmities doe well beare, he spake of his Ma^{ty} with all signification of respect and love, and evermore constantly in the termes of service; and since his Highnes hath now no minister in England to whom his Ma^{ty} can take notice of the honor done to me for his sake, I could be glad his Ma^{ty} would be pleased to doe it either by immediate letter, or by commandement to Mr. Trumbull, as his Ma^{ty} in his princely wisdome shall thinke most fitt.

Thus I have wearied you with an unmercifull dispatche, and notwithstanding I cannot yet shutt it up, for I am bound to give his Ma^{ty} an accompt of my opinion of the discoverer mentioned in Mr. Trumbull's letter, and of his project, which I will deliver as quickly as I conceyved it; for, putting the fellow briefly to the extremity, by offering him men of courage to execute the desseigne and his demand of 2000 pistoles in his hand upon the performance, I had great cause to apprehend a vehement suspition that he takes upon him to know much more then he dares undertake to verifie; yet I thinke I shall speake with him once agayne late this evening, and if I finde reason to change my judgement I shall be very glad to retract my error; howsoever I purpose to leave him to treate more at leysure with Mr. Trumbull, for whose direction in this and the other poyntes I have delivered him a copy of Mr. Secretary Calvert's letter.^a

^a The man was a certain Nicholas de Laken, who had offered to discover the name of the author of the *Corona Regia*, a libel at which James had been greatly offended. On

For newes I must yet add that it is some weekes since the Archduke hath beene advertised of Don Roderigo Chalderon his close imprisonment in such a strict manner, and with so much care, that he may not have power to make himselfe away, as that no one man is suffered to have the charge of his custodie above two houres, and is then, though Chalderon be sleeping, to awake and deliver him alive to the next commanded to take him into his keeping. When Chalderon first found they took this severe course with him, he smiled and sayd he had a protector would beare him out in all that he had done; but the Archduke hath freshly receyved letters bearing this preamble, that if the former seemed to containe any strange niews, his Highnes would very shortly heare of much stranger, for that it was certainly thought to be fully discovered that the Duke of Lerma had of himselfe contrived, and by Chalderon practised, the late Queene of Spaynes death; that for his examining, and the proceeding against him without offence to the Church, there is a Cardinall sent for from Rome to interrogate him, but that it is further imagined that for saving of the Cardinall's honor, and reasons of state, the Duke is likely, either in the meane time or soone after, to be delivered out of prison into heaven with a cup of nectar.

The Comte de Solse is here designed Ambassador from these Princes to the King of Polonia, upon pretence of christening a child of his yet unborne, which appearing an improbable colour to me, gave me occasion to enquire more diligently after the true end of his employment thither, and I have learned from very good part that it is to deale with that King to turne those forces he is calling home out of Russia upon his neighbours the Silesians, whereunto if he can be drawne it will give a greater terror and blow to the Bohemians then any they have yet felt or feared.

King Ferdinand his Ambassador, who hath beene long in the

the 26th of June, Trumbull wrote to Naunton expressing his disbelief that De Laken
6th of July,
had any information worth buying.

towne, hath not once come to visit me all this time of my being here, which I finde very strange. His Master is here valued to be but a silly Jesuited soule, and the Archduke hath absolutely refused to transfer his estate in Austria upon him, but hath made him governor for his Highnes.

I send his Ma^{ty} here inclosed the Archduke's answere to his letters, as also a letter from the Duke of Bouillon to me, contayning his thoughtes upon the state of the affayres in Bohemia; I shall be very glad to understand his Mat^{ies} censure of them before my departure from Heidelberg, being to sett forward thither early to-morrow morning, if it please God, to whose blessed protection I commend his Sacred Ma^{ty} in my daily prayers, and rest

Your most affectionate faythfull friende
and humble servant,

DONCASTER.

Bruxelles, 30th May, stilo vetere, 1619.

[*Postscript.*].—Before this dispatche could be closed, I was here presented with a jewell from their Highnesses, which I send into England by this worthy gentleman, Captaine Killigrew, and, if you think fitt, it may please you, Sir, to shew it unto his Ma^{ty} for a verification of a passage in my dispatch.

No. LXIV.

SIR ISAAC WAKE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

[State Papers. Savoy.]

[Turin, June $\frac{2}{13}$, 1619.]

FROM Heidelberg I did make bolde to give your Lordship a particular account^a of what I treated with the Elector Palatine, at my being in his Court, and if your leisure will permit you to peruse the

^a This dispatch has not been preserved.

inclosed cōpye of my despatch to Mr Secretary Naunton, you may be pleased therein to see what occurrences I did meete withal by the way.

The Prince of Anhalt, who came into Piedmont with a purpose not to be known unto any but the Duke of Savoy in private, was discovered by an unfortunate accident of sicknes which did inforce him to admit physitians and apothecaries to come unto him, from whom he could not long conceale his quality; when he was once known he did boldly pull of his maske, and as soone as he had recovered his health, he did shewe himselfe in publique; but his negotiation, which is guessed at in general by all men, though the particulers thereof are known to fewe, did consist of seven points:

1. First he did desire this Duke to continue unto the Count of Mansfelt the paye of that regiment which he hath in Bohemia, in consideration of the great service those troupes have donne unto the publique, and the benefit that may be hoped to redound unto the Duke of Savoy hereafter in his owne particuler.

2. His second motion was to borrowe of the Duke of Savoy and of the Venetians the summe of a million and a half of crowns towards the assistance of the Bohemians, for the repayment whereof he did offer sufficient caution.

3. He did desire that the Duke of Savoy would employ his credit in France to procure that, by the mediation of the French King, the Imperiall Dyett might be putt of, untill such time as the affaires of the Bohemians might be accommodated.

4. That by the Duke of Savoyes powerful mediation in France they might be brought to followe the maximes and designes which the late King had framed and projected for the liberty of Germany.

5. That he would procure the French King to contribute the best of his power and strength to hinder the Empire from continuing to be hereditary.

6. That for the more easy compassing of this point the French King would trye if it were possible to get the Bishop of Triers to give his voice to the Duke of Savoy.

7. That the French King, at the Duke of Savoyes request, would assist the Bohemians and the Princes of Germany, either with men or money as best he might.

The Duke of Savoy did force himselfe to give the Prince of Anhalt satisfaction, as far as his power did extend, and immediately he did dispatch a currier to the Prince of Piedmont, with expresse order that he should employ the uttermost of his credit in the French Court to procure the effecting of so many of these articles as did depend uppon the pleasure of that King. The loane of monny could not be obtained, considering the hardnes of the Venetians, and the barenes of the Duke of Savoy: but the Count of Mansfelt's regiment is continued still by this Duke, until he shall see what plye those affaires are likely to take.

At my first audience with the Duke of Savoy, after having presented unto him his Ma^{ties} lettres, I did let him knowe the commission I had receaved from his Ma^{tie} to passe such offices for him with the Princes of Germany as the present conjuncture of affaires in those parts did permit, wherein howe faithfully I had acquitted my selfe of my duty I did desire him to see in a letter which I then presented unto him from the Elector Palatine, a cotype whereof your Lordship shall receive here inclosed. I did further tell him that the extraordinary affection his Ma^{tie} did beare unto the person of his Highness and to all of his howse had made him give a more willing care unto these overtures then he had been used to do to any newe projects. But, because these innovations did in his Ma^{ties} judgement seeme to threaten a great deale of danger, he had given mee in charge earnestly in his name to desire his Highnes to weigh in a just and equal ballance his owne strength and the power of all his frends,^a and seriously to consider whither all of them together had power sufficient to wrest two such crowns out of the hands of the Princes

^a In February the Duke had proposed that he should become Emperor and King of Bohemia, whilst the Elector Palatine was to have Alsace, Hungary, and, if possible, part of Austria. Londorp, iii. 611.

of Austria, who are and will infallibly be supported with all the forces of Spayne. Above all I did most earnestly desire him to make sure worke in France, and not to thinck that any good could be donne in this busines, unlesse he could winne the French King to favor the designe, assuring him that when it should appeare unto his Mat^{ie} that there was not onely possibility, but some probability also in the designe, he would not be wanting to declare himselfe in favor of his Highnes when he might do it to some purpose.

The Duke of Savoy in his answer did spend many words in acknowledging the great obligations he had to his Mat^{ie}, and offering by way of gratitude himselfe and all his children as ready to spend their lives for his Mat^{ie} when any occasion of doing him service should require it. But in the maine business I did not find him so warme as he had beene figured unto mee in Germany: and I do imagine that either the Prince of Anhalt hath cooled his desire, or that he doth suspect the Princes of Germany do onely serve themselves of him to beat the bush, and that they entend to keepe the birds for themselves if any may be gotten. All that he can promise for France is onely a neutrality, not without some doubt whither that may be assured or not. The Venetians will not be drawn to part with any more money; and, although they desire more then any other the weakening of the howse of Austria, yet would they have it by an other way, desiring that the Bohemians might affranchise themselves, and establish their liberty in the forme of a Republique, without choosing a newe king. He doth find that the Duke of Saxony is resolved to concurre with the Ecclesiastical Electors in favor of Ferdinand, and that it will be impossible to gaine his voice, considering that his greatnes was raysed by the howse of Austria, and the conservation of his estate doth depend upon their protection. Notwithstanding all these difficultyes he tolde mee that if his Mat^{ie}, together with the States of the United Provinces and the Princes of the Union, would undertake the protection of the Bohemians, he would contribute likewise to their assistance, as much as his ability would permit, without having regard unto any profit or

advantage that might redound either unto him or his howse; adding withal (to use his owne phrase) that this busines was *un jeu de peu de tavoliers*; and that there was no time for long deliberation; but that the Princes of Germany, and all that wish well unto the publique liberty, must be enforced to pull of their maskes and resolve either to weaken the Austrians, in such sort that they may not hereafter have the power to do hurt, or suffer them to growe more strong and potent then they have been in those parts since the time of Charles the fift.

I have safely delivered your Lordship's letter unto the Duke of Savoy, which he did take very kindly, with protestation that it was the most welcome letter he had receaved a long time, willing mee to assure your Lordship on his behalfe, that, as he did worthily esteeme those excellent virtues and abilities of your Lordship which had made you gracious to his Ma^{tie} and eminent unto the worlde, so he would studiously seeke out some occasion which might make him merit your Lordship's love, the happines whereof he doth earnestly desire your Lordship to continue unto him, and that you will be pleased to let him see the effects thereof, by your confirming him in the honor of his Ma^{ties} good opinion.

For my owne particuler, I do humbly beseech your Lordship that you will vouchsafe to cast an eye sometimes uppon one that is your onely creature, and that you will be pleased to perfect the worke of your owne hands, when in your wisdom you shall think it fit. Sir Henry Wotton is departed from Venice, without any purpose, as I understand, to returne thither any more. If he continue in the same minde, I do in all humility desire your Lordship to remember the gracious promise you were pleased to make mee, of procuring mee that employment, when it should be voide.

So, with my harty prayers unto Almighty God for your Lordship's increase in all happines and prosperity, I take leave, and rest

Your Lordship's most faithfully to honor and serve you,

ISAAC WAKE.

From Turin the $\frac{5}{15}$ of June, 1619.

No. LXV.

ANSWER GIVEN BY THE ELECTOR PALATINE, THE MARGRAVE OF ANSPACH, THE DUKE OF WIRTEMBERG, THE MARGRAVE OF BADEN, AND THE PRINCE OF ANHALT, TO SIR HENRY WOTTON.

[Londorp. Acta Publica, iii. 657.]

[Heilbronn, June 13, 1619.]

MESSEIGNEURS les Electeur Palatin, Marquis d'Anspach, Duc de Wirtemberg, Marquis de Baden, et Prince d'Anhalt, assemblez en cette ville de Heilbron, ont entendu par la proposition que leur a faite le Sieur Chevalier Wotton, Ambassadeur du Roy de la Grand Bretagne vers la Republique de Venise, les ouvertures par les quelles il a pleu à S. Majeste leur rendre derechef un nouveau tesmoignage tant de son zele et tres louable intention au bien et repos publique que de sa royale bienveillance en leur particulier, dont ils se sentent grandement obligez à luy en rendre biens humbles services, ainsi qu'ils seront prests de sy porter tous entiers es occasions qui s'en presenteront, et en l'attente desquelles elles remercient bien humblement sa Majesté du soing qu'il luy a pleu prendre en cest endroit; la supplicans de continuer en un si saint et si louable propos.

Quant au premier poinct, concernant les moyens proposez par les quel sa Majesté estime se pouvoir faire bresche et diminution à la Papauté, pour l'avancement et propogation de la Religion Evangelique, c'est à sçavoir les armes, et les livres, la predication, et une intime communication, leurs Altesses seron bien ayses de se conformer et accommoder cy apres aux bons et prudens advis de sa Majesté lors qu'il luy plaira leur faire l'honneur de les leur departer particulièrement sur ce sujet, pour y cooperer avec elle par toutes voyes possibles.

Le second poinct, touchant les moyens de faciliter une alliance entre la Republique de Venise et celle des Grisons, sera aussy mis

en digne consideration pour y apporter tous devoirs possibles, ainsi que desja passé plusieurs anneés ou s'est travaillé d'acheminer et mettre en bon train ladite alliance, laquelle jusqu' icy c'est trouvéé empeschéé et acrochéé par les factions de ceux qui n'y portent point d'affection: et encores que les Cantons de Zurich et de Berne y ayent de leur costé contribuéé tout leur mieux, si est ce que leurs dites Altesses n'ont laisséé pourtant de les y exhorter de nouveau par lettres expresses, et ne perdront aucune occasion capable d'y pouvoir servir. Esperans que sa Majesté continuera de mesmes à y employer son credit et autorité, puisqu' à cause du passage par lesdits Grisons c'est une chose qu'importe fort à tous de les Evangeliques de la Germanie.

Finalement leurdictes Altesses ont receu beaucoup de contentement d'apprendre par ce que ledit Sieur Ambassadeur leur a présenté, de la part de la dicte Republique de Venise, les bonnes ententions qu'elle a d'entretenir une bonne intelligence avec tout le corps des Unis, et de ne permettre au desavantage d'iceux aucun passage par le Golf.

Ce que oblige particulièrement leurs dictes Altesses à les en remercier par le moyen du dict Sieur Ambassadeur, et à le requerer, comme ils font par cestes, de vouloir assurer la dicte Republique de la bonne volonté qu'ils ont d'y correspondre de leur costé, par toutes sortes de bons offices, lorsque les occasions leur en fourniront les moyens, leurs dictes Altesses se promettans que la dicte Republique, en conformité de ces siennes offres [et] declaration, ne donnera et ne souffrira estre donné passage es lieux de leur obeysance, et sur tout par la Mer Adriatique, au prejudice du repos de la Germanie, et specialment desdicts Unis, lesquels seront tousjours soigneux de s'en revenger; et quis que sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne peut beaucoup pour les confirmer en un si bon propos, leurs Altesses ajoutent encores ceste bien humble priere aux precedentes, qu'il plaise à sad. Majesté d'y tenir la bonne main; ce qui accroistra des obligations envers icelle. Et le dict Sieur Ambassa-

deur se pourra tousjours tenir tres asseuré de la bienvueillance de leursdictes Altesses envers luy.

Donné Hailbronn, c. 12 de Juin, 1619.

FRIDERIC, E. P.

JOACHIM ERNST, MARQUIS
DE BRANBURG.

G. F. M. DE BADEN.

LE DUC DE WIRTEMBERG.

CHRISTIAN PRINCE D'ANHALT.

No. LXVI.

PHILIP III. TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Spain.]

[Belem, June $\frac{15}{25}$, 1619.]

PHILIPPUS, Dei gratia Hispaniarum utriusque Siciliae, Hierosolymarum, Indiarum, &c. Rex, Archidux Austriae, Dux Burgundiae, Mediolani, &c. Comes Abspurgi, Tivolis, &c. serenissimo et potentissimo Principi ac Domino Jacobo Magnae Britanniae, &c. Regi, fratri et consanguineo nostro charissimo, salutem et utramque felicitatem. Serenissime princeps, frater et consanguinee charissime, Julianus Sanctus Ulloa mei legati secretarius fecit me certiores de electione et discessu legati extraordinarii Vestrae serenitatis, cui in mandatis dederat ut suo nomine inviseret Principem Electorem Palatinum et alios in Germania, suamque Regiam intercessionem interponeret in negotio electionis pro domo Austriaca et nominatim pro serenissimo Rege Ferdinando, simulque ageret de compositione motuum Bohemicorum; quae officia, etsi de vestra regia bonitate et in bonum publicum recta intentione procedunt, mihi sunt gratissima; vicemque tamquam bonus frater et amicus in omni occasione rependam, ut latius ab ipso Juliano poterit Serenitas Vester percipere. Quam Deus Optimus Maximus omni felicitate cumulare dignetur.

Datum in Monasterio Regio nostro Bethlem, die 25 mensis Junii,
anno Domini 1619.

Serenitatis vestræ frater amantissimus,

PHILIPPUS.

JOANNES DE CIRIÇA.

No. LXVII.

THE PRINCES OF THE UNION TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Heilbronn, June 17, 1619.]

SIRE,

Nous ne doubtons point que Vostre M^{te} ne soit assez suffisamment informée du dangereux estat auquel se trouvent pour ce jourd'huy les affaires de l'Empire, et qu'elle ne compatisse de bon cœur avec nous, et ce d'autant plus qu'il y a apparence qu'en cest estat si perilleux les choses sont reduictes à tels termes que le fait de la Religion et de tous les membres d'icelle se recontre en un aussy grand et evident danger qu'il ayt jamais esté depuis qu'il a pleu à Dieu esclaire la Germanie de la lumiere de son Evangile; et, ne voyant point d'autre expedient d'en pouvoir sortir qu' apres avoir imploré l'ayde du Tout Puissant se resoudre promptement et prendre de bonne heure les moyens et remedes en main, pour divertir le malheur qui les menace et qui est proche de leur portes. Estant aussy notoire par tout l'Empire et ailleurs que pendant cest interregne et contre les constitutions de l'Empire on a conduit et fait marcher grand nombre de gens de guerre, estrangers, et Espagnols, voire des armées toutes formées tant dedans que hors l'Empire, contre les Estats de la Religion en Boheme, et qu'on est encor apres pour en lever d'avantage sur les terres des Archiducs, pareillement aussy qu'il se trouve sus pied un grand amas de gens de guerre en Italie, pour le passage des quels on presse fort en divers lieux, à fin de leur faire tourner teste vers l'Allemagne: à cecy fault adjoûster

que la plupart des Electeurs et Princes Ecclesiastiques se fortifient merveilleusement de gens de guerre tant de pied que de cheval, et ne cessent encor de continuer leurs levées. Dailleurs Vostre Majesté ne peult ignorer la grande meffiance et mesintelligence qui s'est glissée entre les Estats des deux religions en l'Empire de puis la dernière Diete Imperiale tenue en l'an 1613, en laquelle ceux de la Religion demanderent assez serieusement qu'on voulust remedier à leurs griefs; et en vindrent jusques là que le feu Empereur de tresheureuse memoire leur accorda l'interposition de son autorité pour parvenir à quelque amiable composition, la quelle neant moins du de puis a tousjours esté traversée et retardée par les violentes et frequentes oppositions de l'autre party. Et mesmes on en est venu si avant que les Estats Catholiques Romains se sont declarez à bouche ouverte de ne pouvoir ny ne vouloir en façon quelconque entrer en aucun traicte avec les Estats de la Religion en ce qui touche leurs griefs. De la il est aysé à croire que leur ferme et finale resolucion ne tend qu'à vouloir espier l'occasion qu'ils verront à propos contre les Estats de la Religion pour par force attirer à eux les cloistres, abbayes et autres biens Ecclesiastiques qu'ils pretendent leur avoir esté retrenchez. Et pour preuve infailible que leur dessein est tel, on le véoit apparemment par les discours et libelles fameux publiez depuis quelque temps en ça par de leurs principaux conseillers et officiers, joinct à ce que leurs grandes et subites levées et autres preparatifs de guerre non necessaires ne donnent pas peu d'ombrage et de soubçon, que cas advenant (ce qu'on n'espere pas toutes fois) que les Estats de la Religion en Boheme viassent à estre opprimez et à avoir du pis, qu'indubitablement ils se voudront prevaloir d'un tel avantage à l'effect que dessus.

Considerans doncques et voyants le danger tel qu'il est, nous sommes assemblez derechef en ceste ville de Heylbron pour y deliberer et resoudre ensemblement comment et en quelle façon ce mal pourra estre prevenu; et apres une bonne et meure deliberacion, nous avons trouvé que la gloire de Dieu, la conservacion de nostre religion et de la liberté que nos predecesseurs nous ont acquise au prix

de leur sang et perte de leurs biens, ne pouvoit estre autrement maintenue, en un estat si evidemment dangereux, que par une bonne resolution de nous mettre en estat convenable et necessaire pour nostre commune conservation. Comme de faict et à ceste occasion nous avons resolu voire sommes apres ^a de mettre sus pied dix à douze mille hommes de pied et trois mille bons chevaux avec les despendances pour avec l'assistance Divine nous opposer et repousser, en tant qu'en nous est, toutes forces et violences illegitimes. Mais d'autant qu'il nous seroit bien difficile à nous seuls de supporter à la longue un si grand faix et d'empescher un torrent qui pourroit tomber tout à coup sur nous, et que pour la defense de nos pays et sujets qui avoysinent la riviere du Rhin, celle du Danube, et le Royaume de Boheme, ou il y a le plus d'apparence de danger, il nous conviendra tenir sur nos gardes de tous cez costez la, et par ainsy serions contraincts de diviser nos forces en divers endroits. C'est pourquoy nous avons creu estre le nostre debuoir d'en donner prompt advis à Vostre Majesté, et par mesme moyen la supplier bien humblement qu'en consideracion du danger que nous luy venons de représenter et qui se fait desja veoir devant nos yeux, il luy plaise, en vertu et conformement à l'alliance qu'elle a reciproquement contractée avec nous, donner tel ordre que le secours promis en icelle soit prest et en tel estat, qu'à la premiere sommation que nous en ferons, qui pourroit bien tost arriver, il puisse estre envoyé par deça aux lieux que nous specifions; offrans d'observer sincerement de nostre costé et en cas de besoing tout ce à quoy ladite alliance nous tient obligez. Vostre Majesté fera en cela chose digne de sa grandeur, et qui redondera au bien et à la conservacion de la religion et de la liberté commune. Surquoy attendans au plus tost sa response benigne et favorable, nous l'asseurons icy derechef de nostre entiere devotion au bien de son service, et que nous demeurerons tousjours,

Sire,

de Vostre Majesté.

De Heylbron le 17 de Juin, 1619.

^a Some words appear to have been omitted.

No. LXVIII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO JAMES I.

[Holograph. State Papers. Germany.]

[Heidelberg, June 18, 1619.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT Ma^{tie}.

According to the Comandement I receyved from your Ma^{tie} I have endeavored to sound this Prince your sone, and, if my short understanding were a fit measure to judge any depthes by, I should dare pronounce that his Highnes is muche beyond his yeirs, religious, wise, active, and valiant, of all whiche noble and princely partes I doubte not but he will very shortly give your Ma^{tie} and all the world good prooffe by his braue carrage in the charge, wiche the Princes of the Union yield to him as his ryght, of being generall of the forces they are levying and resolvinge to send into the Upper Palatinat, under colour of defence thereof, but indeede to be employed according as occasion shall offer. And if your Ma^{ty} could heare with my eares, how infinitely his Highnes is respected by all those princes, how highly he is esteemed and redowbted in all Germany, and how extremly he is loved and honored by all his owne people, your Ma^{ty} would believe the testimony of Fame if you discredit myne.

Concerninge hir Highnes, if I can say no more then that she is that same devoute, good, sweet princess your Ma^{ties} daughter should be, and she was ever, obliging all hearts that come neere her by her courtesy, and so dearly loving and beloved of the Prince her housband, that it is a joy to all that behold them.

When I delivered your Ma^{ties} pleasure to her Highnes concerninge the reintertaynement of Mr. Elfinston, I found her Highnes extremely troubled therewith, and spared not to expresse so much dislyke as I was suspicious it was infused by his enemies, till, urginge to be acquainted with the reasons of her Highnes' distast, for your Ma^{ties} satisfaction, it pleased her Highnes to let me know that he had caried himselfe in her service and departed from it in suche a

fashion as her Highnes would think it the greatest affliction could befall her to be inforced to tak him agayne. And she farther discovered to me divers particulars which are unfit to be committed to paper, but suche as when your Ma^{ty} shall heare yow will say her Highnes hath reason for her passion. The Prince lykeways, whose affection to him her Highnes willed me to search, discovered no lesse, with sum more bitternes then her Highnes had wrapped up in sweet termes. This I protest upon my faythe to God and your Ma^{ty} to be most true, which I would think a most needless asseveration if at the receipt of this command I had not beene an humble suitor to your Ma^{ty} for my servant Nethersole, and obtayned your gracious promes for him in the second place.^a Whereof I most humbly intreat your Ma^{ty} to give me leave now to remember yow, and of the surety I then gave you, who is still willing to stand engaged for him, and if it will please your M. to settle him in this employment now while I am in these partes, as I doe most humbly intreat, I will undertak to leave him in so good intelligence with these princes as shall not be unusfull for your Ma^{ties} servise. And so, praying God to blesse the Christian World, your Kingdomes, and me, with your Ma^{ties} long and healthfull lyf, In all humble reverence I tak leave, and rest

Your sacred Ma^{ties} most obedient humble subject
and faithfull servant,

DONCASTER.

Heidelberg, 18th June 1619.

As I am closing up these letters I receyved the letters^b from the Princes of the Union, promised me by the Prince your sone, and, since your Ma^{tie} was pleased at my taking leave to honor me with the office of Chancellor of your honor and conscience, give me leave to mak a reference unto your Ma^{tie} as first Master of the Chancery, whether yow be not bound in bothe to grant there request.

^a To be Secretary to the Electress in the place lately vacated by Sir Albert Morton.

^b No. LXVII.

No. LXIX.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Holograph. State Papers. Germany.]

[Heidelberg, June $\frac{18}{25}$, 1619.]

MY NOBLEST LORD,

Presuming on your Lordship's zeale to his Majesties honor and love to me, I will not be affrayed humbly to intreat your Lordship, when yow shall take knoledge from my letters to his Ma^{tie} of this brave Prince his makinge him selfe generall of the forces of the Union, to consider with your owne wysdome whether it may not be an happy oportunity for your Lordship to incit his M^{tie} to send him a secours of men or money, wiche he may doe upon that occasion, without the exception, if I may not say with the exspectation of all the world, and then I leave the resolution of what is fit for your Lordship, to your noble heart. Onley give me leave to adde this dilemma, that, since the parties are now lyk to come to bloues, if without his M^{ties} appearinge either directly or indirectly in the Bohemians favor, they get the upper hand, there can no part of the honor redound to his Ma^{tie}, and if they should be defeat (wiche God forbid) now that the Princes of the Union and his sone are forced by there actions to declare themselves, thoughe under other pretences, his M^{tie} will necessarily be engaged to releave them under the burden at the end of the day; and, to tell your Lordship the plaine trewth, the reason of his Ma^{ties} tenderness in respect of the mediation he interposeth is not satisfactory heere, seinge the King of Spayne, who hath the same reason, doth not spare notwithstandinge to assist King Ferdinand. But if his M^{tie} will not harken to such language, at least, my noble Lord, be pleased to think whether the sendinge of some gentleman to this Prince, (and for my owne sake I wisse it wer the rog Goring,) with sum gracious and promisinge message for the tyme to come, or but with comission for me to doe as muche and to

speake loud and à *chevall* to King Ferdinand in the meane tyme if he give cause, may not be a poore meanes to uphold his M^{ties} honor and frendship for a tyme, wiche I cannot forbear to whisper in your Lordship's care suffers too muche already.

Be pleased, noblest Lord, to bestow a thought on these propositions, wiche I trust yow are assured proceed from a heart faithfull to his Mat^{ie}, and resolved to be eternally

Your Lordship's most faithful humble servant,

DONCASTER.

Heydelberg, 18th June, 1619.

Now that it is certain Elfinston can not be welcome hither, give me leave to put your Lordship in mynd of your favorable promes for Nethersole, in the second place; for whose beinge heir if your Lordship myght please to send me ordre whyll I am amonge these Princes, I shall hold it for a syngular favour, and will be bound his sufficiensy and honesty shall deserve this high favour of your Lordship.—[*Postscript in Lord Doncaster's handwriting.*]

No. LXX.

MEMOIR GIVEN BY FREDERICK V., ELECTOR PALATINE,
TO VISCOUNT DONCASTER.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Heilbronn, June 18, 1619.]

MEMOIRE, pour servir d'information à Monsieur le Viconte de Doncastre, Ambassadeur de sa Mat^e de la Grande Bretagne, sur les poincts touchant lesquels il a demandé esclaircissement.

1. Premièrement, que le but et intention de Messeigneurs les Princes et Estats Unis est de restablir et entretenir la tranquillite publique, et se conserver au milieu des troubles et dangers que les menagent. Pour l'effect de quoy ils ont prise resolution de leuer jusques à dix

ou douze mille hommes de pied, et trois mille bons chevaux, pour s'en servir en un besoing, avec les autres moyens que Dieu leur a donné et donnera en main.

2. Secondement, que par les apologies, et par les comportements des estats de Boheme, il appert manifestement, que leur intention ne fust oncques de se rebeller contre l'Empereur defunct leur Roy. Et que pour mieux comprendre cecy il faut entendre que les constitutions du Royaume de Boheme sont reciproquement obligatoires entre les Roys et lesdits Estats. D'avantage le[s] concessions specialées, données jurées et confirmées ausdits Estats par les Rois precedents, et mesme par sa Ma^{te} dernièrement decedée, monstrent non seulement quels sont leurs privileges, et sur tout l'octroy qui leur est fait du libre excercise de leur Religion, mais aussi le pouvoir qui leur est expressement donné et permis de se maintenir contre tous ceux qui voudroient entreprendre de les y traverser ou troubler.

Au contraire, pour les frustrer de tout desdits privileges, libre excercise de la religion Evangelicque et des concessions par eux obtenues, on a allegue que les Rois susdits n'ont point eu la puissance de les donner sans la permission du Pape, et que, le Pape n'y voulant consentir, telles concessions ne sont obligatoires. De la sont ensuivrés plusieurs traverses et persecutions. Lesquelles se sont tellement accreues de plus en plus par la malvueillance et animosité des Principaux officiers de la Courone et autres creatures des Jesuites autheurs et instigateurs, qu'en fin on en est venu si avant que de defendre en divers lieux dudit royaume le libre excercise de la Religion Evangelicque, chastier par emprisonnement les contrevenants, et raser les nouveaux temples que les Evangelicques avoient bastis à grands fraiz en vertu desdites concessions, et de leur fermer ceux à la construction desquels sa Ma^{te} de la Grande Bretagne mesme avoit fort liberalement contribué de ses deniers. Toutes lesquelles rigeureuses procedures se faisoient et couvroient du nom et autorité de sa Ma^{te} Imperiale defuncte, laquelle par surprise et faux rapports se laissoit aller et persuader de signer des

commandements et jussions derogeantes ausdites concessions, dont lesdits officiers et leurs adherants se prevaioient audacieusement à l'oppression et ruyne totale desdits Evangeliques. Lesquels d'autre costé, ne desirants rien plus que de jouyr paisiblement de leur privileges, liberté et exercice de leur religion, se servirent premiere-ment des moyens ordinaires, de remonstrances et treshumbles suppli-cations faites par eux de bouche et par escrits innombrables. Mais voyants que tout accez leur estoit retrenché envers sadite Ma^{te} Imp^{le}, que leursdites supplications ne passoient que par les mains de ceux que fabriquoient eux mesmes tels commandements pour en leur pernicious dessein abuser de l'autorité Imperiale, et qu'il ne restoit plus aucune esperance de se conserver par ceste voye, ils furent contraincts de recourir à celle que lesdites concessions de leurs Rois leur monstrent, et de reprimer eux mesmes l'audace et insolence de leurs persecuteurs, avec protestation de n'entendre en façon quelconque se departir ne soustraire de l'obeyssance et respect deu à sadite Ma^{te}, à laquelle ils n'attribuent, ains à son mauvais conseil et malueillants, la cause desdites persecutions, nonobstant qu'il soit raisonnable d'observer et faire observer inviolablement ce que sadite Ma^{te} et ses predecesseurs leur avoient promis si solennel-lement par lettres, seaux, et par serment. Aussi leurs actions pen-dant ces troubles rendent tesmoignage qu'ils n'ont aucunement visé à se rebeller: car, nonobstant qu'on les ayt dès le commencement assailis par toutes sortes d'hostilité par le fer et par le feu, sans espargner hommes, femmes, ne mesmes les petits enfants allaitants et attachez aux mammelles de leurs mere, si est ce qu'ils se sont tousjours contenus es bornes de leur defensive, le seul respect qu'ils portoient à sadite Ma^{te} (puis que tels actes se faisoient sous le nom d'icelle) les ayant retenues de se servir de plusieurs avan-tages qu'ils avoient alors, et de tailler en pieces, ou pour le moins de chasser hors du royaume, les troupes qui s'estoient hostilement jectées dedans, jusques à ce qu'au lieu d'un accommodement amiable qu'ils esperoient on a porte les choses aux extremitez come elles sont aujourd' huy. Par où on voit que lesdits Estats ne combattent

que pour garentir leurs vies, femmes, enfans, religion et privileges, à l'encontre de l'indicible cruauté et violence qu'on exerce maintenant et sans cesse contre eux, telle qu' entre les Barbares n'en fust onque ouyé de semblable, et qui tourne à honte immortelle à toute la Chrestienté, et au grand avantage de l'enemy commun d'icelle.

Sur tout il plaira audit Seigneur Ambassadeur empescher de tout son pouvoir le restabliessement des Jesuites audit royaume, puis qu'ils sont les allumettes de ces feux, et qu'il est impossible de procurer une paix assurée, s'ils n'en demeurent totalement exclus. Pour fin de ce second point, au cas qu'on voulust objecter aux Sr Ambassadeur que le Roy Ferdinand s'est offert de confirmer aux Bohemiens leurs privileges et concessions moyenant leur submission, et qu'ils n'y ont voulu entendre, il se pourra faire représenter par lesdits Bohemiens mesmes ce qui s'est passé, et la raison de l'un ou de l'autre, par ou il entendra que ceste offre ne s'est pas faite en deüe forme, et qu'en un affaire de si grande importance il est question des effects et non de simples paroles.

3. Tiercement, quant aux raisons par lesquelles il seroit bien necessaire de differer et proroger la Diete de Francfort, il faut considerer que la puissance d'elire un Roy des Romains et le couronner Empereur, appartenante aux sept Electeurs seuls, c'est l'un des principaux et plus importants poincts des loix fondamentales de l'Empire, que de leur conserver la liberté de leurs suffrages, et de ne souffrir qu'ils soient extorquez par la force des armes, puis que ce seroit pour ouvrir la porte à quelque usurpation ou tyrannie, et consequemment à la ruïne et confusion dudit Empire. A quoy on a bien occasion de prendre garde parmi ces occurrences presentes, ou pour le jourd'huy sous pretexte des differents de Boheme on a introduict dedans l'Empire un tres grand nombre de gens de guerre, la plus part estrangeres, et à la solde d'Espagne, formé des corps d'armees tout entieres, et qu'on ne cesse de continuer à faire des levées en divers endroits, estant beaucoup meilleur de travailler avant toutes choses à assopir ce feu et apaiser les troubles de l'Empire que de precipiter

l'election d'un Roy des Romains, veu qu'avant telle pacification ladite Diète ne se peut tenir qu'au milieu du bruit des armes, et dont il s'ensuivroit, que ce n'auroit pas esté par liberté de suffrages, ains par la terreur et par force que ladite election se seroit faite, ce que porteroit un merveilleux et notable prejudice, non seulement auxdits Ellecteurs, mais aussi à tous les autres Princes et Estats du dit Empire. Lesquels auroient juste sujet de leur faire reproche d'avoir ainsi precipité ladite election, et de n'avoir plustot aidé à appaiser et faire poser les armes, pour pouvoir plus meurement et avec meilleure commodité adviser aux necessitez de l'Empire. Aussi ne derogeroit une telle prorogation aux loix fondamentales de la Bulle d'Or, veu principalement qu'en ces dangereuses occurences on ne veoit aucune personne capable d'appaiser tant de troubles estant eslevée en ceste dignite, que ce ne soit avec manifeste partialité et au grand desavantage de la plus part des Princes et Estats, voir de la liberté de tout l'Empire.

4. Le quatrieme point concerne une cessation d'armes en Boheme, et comment au cas qu'on y voulust entendre de part et d'autre, elle se pourroit faire pour le bien des affaires dudit royaume. Pour l'esclaircissement de quoy il seroit expedient d'entendre premierement sur ce l'avis des Estats du royaume. Du temps de feu l'Empereur dernier, lors que sa Ma^{te} Imperiale defera à Monsieur l'Electeur de Saxe la charge et commission de moyenner un cessation d'armes, remettant à sa pure volonte d'en faire et y proceder comme il le trouveroit plus à propos, lesdits Estats proposerent les conditions suivantes.

1. Que son Altesse de Saxe y interposeroit l'engagement de sa parole, pour assurance de l'observation.

2. Qu'ils fourniroient des lettres reuersales signées de la main des Generaux de leur armée, pourveu que les generaux de l'autre partie fissent le mesme.

3. Que l'armée Imperiale se contiendrait pendant ladite cessation dedans l'enclos des places, lieux et terres qu'elle occupoit alors, sans s'estendre ne eslargir plus avant, et que l'armée desdits Estats se

tiendroit de mesmes es lieux, places, et pays qu'elle tenoit tant en Boheme que sur les terres d'Austriche.

4. Que durant ladite cessation l'armée Imperiale et autres troupes qui pourroient s'y venir joindre n'attenteroient aucune hostilité contre les pays de Moravie, de Silesie, de l'Ausuitz et d'Austriche, et ne les incommoderoient par passages, places monstres, ou autrement.

5. Qu'il ne seroit permis aux officiers de guerre moins encores aux soldats de part et d'autre de se visiter ne converser par ensemble durant ladite cessation d'armes, veu que de telles frequentations et entreveues pouvoient s'ensuivre plusieurs inconveniens.

6. Que ceux du royaume que l'ont abandonné et se sont retirez de hors, soient hommes ou femmes, ecclesiastiques ou seculiers, n'y rentreroient point pendant ladite cessation, ains se tiendroient de hors es lieux ou ils se trouveroient. Et ceux qui sans permission y pourroient estre secretement rentrez seroient contraincts d'en desloger.

7. Qu'il ne seroit permis de part ne d'autre de faire nouvelles levées de gens de guerre ni en prendre à solde, sinon pour remplacer et rendre completees les compagnies qu'on avoit levées avant ladite cessation d'armes.

8. Qu'au mesme instant que ceste cessation seroit publiée à son de trompettes on cesseroit de faire aucunes nouvelles fortifications.

Finalement, que puis qu'il se pourroit facilement presenter des occasions capables de donner sujet d'alarme, par laquelle la cessation d'armes seroit troublée, son Altesse de Saxe ordonneroit un Commissaire en un certain lieu commode, proche des deux armées, pour ouyr de part et d'autre les plaintes qu'on pourroit faire, et alors par le moyen des generaux tant d'une que d'autre armée (si besoing estoit) composer lesdites plaintes, et en ce faisant tenir le main à l'observation reciproque de ladite cessation.

Telles estoient, comme dit est, les conditions que lesdits Estats proposerent alors; mais le temps ayant du depuis fait changer de face aux affaires, le meilleur servit de sçavoir d'eux et de leurs confe-

derez quelles conditions ils y voudroient maintenant adjouter ou diminuer.

5. Le dernier poinct tesmoigne à son Altesse Electorale, et aux autres Princes et Estats Unis avec elle, la charge que mon dit S^r l'Ambassadeur a de sa Ma^{te} de la Grande Bretagne, de se declarer pour les Bohemiens au cas qu'on voulust abuser de son entremise et bonté, au prejudice desdits Bohemiens. De quoy sadite Altesse et lesdits Princes et Estats sont tresaises, et se promettent que ceste declaration, suivie de ses effects, portera quelque bon coup, tant pour le bien desdits Bohemiens que pour la tranquillité publique, singulierement au bien de tous les Evangelicques de la Germanie, veu que tous les bons offices que sadite Ma^{te} contribue en cest affaire redonde au profit et à l'obligation des uns et des autres. Fait à Heilbron ce 19 de Juin 1619.

No. LXXI.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO JOHN GEORGE, ELECTOR OF SAXONY.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Heidelberg, June 18 ? 1619.]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Les lettres que j'envoye à Vostre Altesse Serenissime de la part du Roy de la Grand Bretagne mon maistre vous feront paroistre que la charge que j'ay d'implorer la favorable assistance de vostre authorité, comme vicaire du S^t Empire, pour l'accommodement des troubles de la Boheme, qui est le but de mon voyage. Et je supplie treshumblement vostre Altesse Serenissime de croire que mon affection particuliere m'y convie avec autant de puissance que le commandement de mon maistre. Mais estant adverty que ces guerres s'aigrissent de jour en jour, et que le Roy Ferdinand faict dessein de s'acheminer dans peu de jours vers Francfort pour s'y trouver au

temps de l'élection, je suis constrainct à mon regret d'aller droit à Vienne, m'assurant qu'en consideration du bien public V. A. S. aura pour agreable de pardonner ce deffaut de mon devoir envers elle pour le present, ce que je ne manqueray pas d'accomplir selon que les affaires me le permettront, et par mesme moyen tascher de me pouvoir qualifier,

Monseigneur,

de V. A. S.

No. LXXII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO THE COUNT OF OÑATE.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Heidelberg, June 2^{de}, 1619.]

MONSIEUR,

Je m'assure qu'il est notoire à Vostre Excellence il y a long temps que le Roy de la Grande Bretagne mon maistre (à la priere de sa Ma^{te} Catholique) m'a commandé de correspondre avec vous pour le mediation d'une paix entre le Roy Ferdinand et le Boëmiens. Et d'autant que mon malheur a voulu que mon voyage ait esté retardé, en premier lieu par l'indisposition de mon maistre, et en apres par la mort de l'Empereur, avec d'autres impourveües et inevitables occasions, j'ay trouvé qu'il estoit necessaire de vous advertir que je suis en fin parvenu jusques icy, et qu'en passant je n'ay point negligé de faire tout ce qui a esté en mon pouvoir pour l'accomplissement de l'affaire qui est le subject de mon voyage; car à Bruxelles, ayant reçu commandement de sa Ma^{te} de prendre advis et instructions de son Altesse Serenissime l'Archiduc pour ma conduite en cette negotiation, j'ay obtenu de la pieté et bonté de son Altesse une lettre au Roi Ferdinand, laquelle je m'assure aura beaucoup de force pour disposer sa Ma^{te} mon maistre envers son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur le Prince Electeur Palatine. Je l'ay

trouvé de soy mesme aussi affectueusement porté que j'eusse sçeu desirer, à me favoriser, et assister de tout son pouvoir et credit aupres des Bohemiens de vouloir entendre à un prompt et durable accord. Je ne doute pas que vostre Excellence n'aye esté aussi soigneux d'y disposer le Roy Ferdinand selon les desirs et volonteze de noz maistres, et je me console et resjouys en ce que je seray supporté soubz le faix de cet important affaire par la prudence d'un personnage si capable et expérimenté aux affaires d'estat, dont le bon jugement pourra soulager mon infirmité, et m'obligera par ce moyen d'estre tel que la reputation de voz vertus m'ont rendu devant que d'avoir eu l'honneur de vous cognoistre.

No. LXXIII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Heidelberg, June ¹³/₂₅, 1619.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

That I may give his Ma^{ty} an accompt of my diligence on the way, as a thing concerning his Ma^{ties} service in this my employment, almost as much as my fidelity in the discharge of his commandements, it may please you, Sir, to excuse my troubling you with so meane matter as my gistes.

The boatman, of whose undertaking to transport me from Cologne to Francfurt in foure dayes I told you in my last of the 4th of this moneth, performed his word within halfe a daye more, setting me downe at Francfurt the 8th of this June. There I heard that this worthy Prince, the Elector Palatine, was already gone in person to the assembly of the Princes of the Union held at Heilburne, though the Marquis Brandeburgh^a and Landgrave of

^a The Margrave of Anspach, who was of the family of the Electors of Brandenburg.

Hesse thought it enough to appeare by their deputyes. Whereupon I was the lesse grieved for the necessity I found of mispending a day in that towne in attending the returne of wagons from fayres abroad.

Upon Thursday the 10th I removed to Bintheim, a little towne upon the frontieres of this Prince his dominions, whither her Highnes sent her coaches to accomodate me; from whence, upon certayne information that his Highnes would not returne to Heidelberg before Saterday, I dispatched Sir Robert Knollys to Heilburne with letters to Monsieur du Plessin (then also there), humbly praying him to addresse and assist Sir Robert in the presenting of my humblest service to his Highnes and the rest of the Princes, together with my excuse for not posting to the place where I had so fitt opportunity to wayte on them all together (having letters and commandes from the King my master to every one of them), because I feared the report of my being at their Assembly would give a great alarme to King Ferdinand and his party, and rendre me useles for their service in this my negotiation; which reason of my forbearance it pleased their Highnesses to approve, and to signify so much to me by a gentleman sent the next day expresly to me to that purpose.

The same day being advertised that there were lodgings prepared for me in this castle, and order given for my being brought to them at my first arrivall, notwithstanding the Prince his being at Heilburne, I despatched my secretary early in the morning to the Princesse with charge to represent unto her Highnes how unfitt it would be for me, not comming now to make a transitory visit, but directed in quality of his Ma^{ties} Ambassador principally to this Prince, as Chiefe Vicar of the Empire, to be so familiar with his Highnes as to put my selfe into his house in his absence, what perplexities it would entangle me in, by putting me to one of these extremities, either not to goe forth to meete his Highnes at his returne or els to deliver my errand in an unfit place, whereof I knew not whether was worse misbeseeing me, what constructions

might be made of it by other Princes of Germany, and by this Prince himselfe, if by kissing her Highnes' handes first (as the manner at Bruxelles is) I should seeme as in his Maties name to declare her right of precedence; which unlucky difference was heretofore so sweetely buried by their owne goodnes, that it were a great sinne now to revive it; humbly beseeching her Highnes for these reasons to give me leave to lodge in the towne till the Prince his returne, which I was els resolved to doe against her will, seing that would be only to my owne losse and torment, of wanting the happines of her seght when I was now so neere; all this prevayled nothing against this most sweete Princesse, her longing to speake with a man that came so neere from the King her father since his sickenes; and therefore I was forced, contrary to her Highnes' pleasure, to take up an inne in the towne, where I was hardly set downe when the Barons of Donaw and Winnem-berg came thither, charging themselves with a straight command from the Prince to see that I lay not in the towne, and assuring me that to that end they had forbidden the marketts to sell me any provision, as they had indeede; wherupon fearing my obstinacy might be worse interpreted by their Highnesses then my yielding could be by others, I at last with all humble thankfulnes embraced their favor both of lodging and defraying me, which I have here receyved in such a royall fashion as (to expresse it in a word,) I must say it is more fit for a Prince then for an Ambassador.

I forbare all the next day to doe my reverence to her Highnes with her good liking, and with no distast to the Prince as I have since perceyved. At ten of the clocke that night the Prince came backe post expresly to heare his Maties pleasure by me, and freed me of my anxiety how to demeane my selfe toward him by stealing secretly into his chamber before he was heard of. Next day, being Sunday, his Highnes out of his desire to understand his Maties will, appoynted me an audience early before sermon. And here agayne his Highnes out of the excesse of his respect towards his Maties shadow surprised me by standing himselfe at the doore of the first roome to

receyve me; which made me, with blushing for too much honor done to me, present his Ma^{ties} letters and fatherly affection to his Highnes and discharge the office of condolence for the late Emperor's death, holding it unfitt to say more at that time. I had the honor that day to dine with their Highnesses, and after dinner the Prince withdrawing me apart, I added thus much, only more briefly, that his Ma^{ty} had sent me as a white paper to receyve impression from his Highnes by the way of information, advise, and commandement in whatsoever concerned either the affayres of Bohemia, the election of the Emperor, the generall good of the Empire, or his Highnes' owne in particular.

The inclosed from his Highnes will let his Ma^{ty} perceyve for the matter how thankfully and kindly his Highnes tooke this message, and for the manner it was beyond my expression. As to the busines his Highnes let me know that which to my extreame grieffe I had heard before, that the Comte of Mansfelt being of late sent for by the Comte of Holach (General of that part of the Bohemians' army which abides still neare Budewish^a) to joyne with him in some attempt against the Comte de Buquoy, he having some way gotten notice therof, sent out 2000 horse and 1000 foote to fall upon the quarter of the Comte Mansfelt soone after they should be dislodged, wherof Mansfelt understanding returned in person with 6 troupes of horse only and 6000 foote, was surprised by the enemy, lost 4 of his troupes and 4000 foote upon the place after they had bravely maintayned the fight above eight houres. Himself being hurt escaped with one troupe, the rest were either taken or scattered. On the other side that which I had before only doubtfully believed upon common fame, that the Comte de Thurne (Generall of that part of the Bohemians' army which is marched into Austria) hath now a good while since lodged himselfe in the fauxbourgs of Vienne, his Highnes assured me to be most true by letters he even then receyved from King Ferdinand signifying so much, and praying his Highnes to employ his credit with the

^a Budweis.

Bohemians for procuring of the Comte his retraits, to the end that his Mat^y might have safe passage to the election, the hinderance wherof he tooke to be the Comte's chiefe desseing, although his Highnes acquainted me with a much nobler, which is, by his presence to animate those in Austria and Hungaria who favour the Bohemians' cause to declare themselves on their part, from the doing whereof they were awed before by that part of King Ferdinandes army which remaynes in Austria under the conduct of the Comte Dampiere. When his Highnes had made me this description of the face of the troubles upon the field, in conclusion he added that (which dayly beates my eares from all partes) that the affayres of Bohemia were long so desperately embroyled, and the humors on both sides so stiffend by those late advantages, that it was the common judgement of all wise men here, my mediation to perswade them to hearken to a treaty would prove a tough piece of worke, and no way likely to take effect; that his Highnes and the other Princes of the Union were now at Heilburne upon a finall deliberation how to governe themselves for their owne defence, and the maintenance of the Reformed religion; that so soone as they were come to a full resolution (which he thought would be within ten or twelve dayes), his Highnes would not fayle particularly to advertise his Mat^y therof by me. Wherupon I tooke occasion to make instance to his Highnes that, since the charge I had from his Mat^y to use all possible diligence would not give me leave to attend that time here, it would please his Highnes to deale with the rest of the Princes, to send his Mat^y a full information at the breaking up of the Assembly, both of the present state of the affayres, and of their resolutions grounded on them, and this under their owne hands, which I urged to be due to his Mat^y as head of the Union. And for his Mat^{ties} satisfaction I obtayned with all forwardnes a promise hereof from his Highnes, to the comming wherof I must refere his Mat^y and you till I can gather more certaintyes by rouling onward on my journey, having no meanes to informe my selfe further here, this Prince and his Counsell being

already returned agayne to Heilburne, and I suppose not knowing much more yet then I have already sucked from them.

But to continue the Prince his reply. Touching the election of the Emperor, his Highnes sayd, that to the proposition made to him from his Ma^{ty} by Sir Isaak Wake in the behalfe of the Duke of Savoy, he had made answeere by letters at the time. That since for his part he found small hope to advance that Duke's ambitions, though he were ready, and desirous, to contribute all his power to that end in respect of his Ma^{ties} commandement. That there had beene some thoughtes and underhand labouring likewise to promote the Duke of Bavaria, and speeche also of the Archduke Albert, who is here also concerned, as I found at Bruxelles, not much to favor King Ferdinandes election. But that, notwithstanding all this, and all that yet appeared (unles it should please God to prevent King Ferdinandes election by some such unforeseene and unhoped for good accident, as the unpremeditated beginning of these troubles in Bohemia was, when otherwise within sixe dayes he was to have beene chosen King of the Romanes,) there is no doubt but he will carry the Empire, though that King himselfe be not yet so well assured of it.

Touching the estate of the Empire in generall, his Highnes tooke paynes to make me capable in how great disorder it was, and that the Protestant party was never since their first establishment neither in so much danger, nor in such apprehension as at the present; all the Ecclesiastical Princes being in armes, and, as it is feared, intending to bring it to warre of Religion, being promised by the King of Spayne all his best assistance for the recovering of all Spiritualties out of the Temporall Princes' handes, so soone as the Election shall be made to his minde.

And for his owne particular, his Highnes so lively represented to me, that I must needes judge he was very sensible how neerely he was interested in the affayres of Bohemia by the bordering of the Upper Palatinat upon that kingdome; and how much the choyce of the Emperor imported his contentment, finding himselfe ever neglected

by those of the House of Austrie, when they are once made Emperors, how willingly soever he assented to their making.

This free and large answer to my proposition yielded me infinite satisfaction, both in respect of the confidence I found his Highnes reposed in me, and of the maturity I found in his Highnes' discourse, yet I thought it necessary to intreate a conference with his consellers, which being granted me by his Highnes, they all in all poyntes held the same language. Wherupon I was perplexed with many crabbed thoughtes, from some part whereof I disincombred my selfe at last by comming to a resolution which I pray God may be as well approved by his Ma^{ty} as it was ripely advised, and without all selfe respectes entertayned by me.

It is, to presume so farre upon his Maties clemency, and I trust beliefe of the sincerity of my intentions to doe that which my little judgment perswades me to conduce most to his Maties service, as contrary to his expresse command specified in my Instructions to lay aside my journey to the Duke of Saxony, being at the least twelve dayes journey out of my way. For the justification of which boldnes I humbly pray you, Sir, if yow finde it needfull, to fortifie these reasons which induced me to it. First, the command so straightly charged on me to use my utmost diligence and endeavour to procure a cessation of armes in Bohemia, and those partes, lyes still upon my heart. And, though for no other consideration, yet to the end that his Ma^{ty} may have the honor therof alone, I held it necessary for me to take this resolution, hearing that the French King is dispatching an ambassador to the same effect, who might well have prevented me had I gone about by Dresden.

Next, for obtayning the cessation it selfe, it is highe time for me to hasten to be upon the place, for feare there may be some greater blow given on my comming then is yet heard of. And yet this small defeate which Comte Mansfeld hath receyved is sayd to have so much erected King Ferdinandes hope of victory, that I can devise no other meanes left of strength to perswade him to hearken to laying downe of armes, but by working upon his jealousy of missing to

be Emperor before he finde how sure his cardes are. And to that purpose, with the applause of this Prince and his Counsell, it hath come into my minde to spende one of the blankes (wherewith his Ma^{ty} pleased to entrust me) upon a letter to the Duke of Bavaria, as the Prince of whom King Ferdinand is and hath most reason to be jealous, having one Elector^a to his brother, and being descended of another's house.^b If I finde no cause to change this desseing, I purpose to bestow one day in posting over to that Prince his court, and yow shall then receyve a copy of the letter I intend to frame. For I will not hazard the spoyling of a blanke till I come to the very poynt to use it.

Thirdly, this Prince and his counsell (who speake the language of Heilburne) are of judgment that nothing would be more advantageous to their party, nor more usefull to the good of the Empire, then if the Election could by any meanes be prorogued for a moneth, or some such short breathing space, and have therefore dealt earnestly with me to draw King Ferdinand, if it be possible, to joyne with them in the same request to the Princes Ecclesiasticall, which they imagine he may not be unwilling to give eare unto, while he is yet doubtfull of the issue of the Election. And to this end I have already courted the Count d'Oniat^c with a messenger, and a letter, (the copy wherof yow finde inclosed^d,) because that Comte is conceyved to have a great power with King Ferdinand, and it is thought will accompany him to the Election.

These are the reasons which overswayed me to adventure on the transgression of his Ma^{ties} commandment. Which, though I hope will be strong inough to excuse the fact to his Ma^{ties} goodnes now it is done, yet they should never have had force to draw me to doe it, if I could have foreseene any fruite of my going to Dresden worthy the expense of so much pretious time as it would have cost me. But this Prince among other freedoms hath opened to me that

^a The Elector of Cologne.

^b The House of Wittelsbach, to which the Electors Palatine belonged.

^c The Spanish Ambassador at Vienna.

^d No. LXXII.

since the death of the Emperor he hath more than once, both by ambassages and letters, tempted that Duke's inclination to the concurring with him in such things during this vacancy as might happen to import either the publique tranquillity or the Protestant party. That to some of his letters he had receyved no answer, and to others such dilatory ones as gave him good foundation to build a firme judgement that Saxe is no lesse inflexible then his name beares to all correspondence with his Highnes. The solicitation wherof in his Maties name being all the busines I had in charge to that Court, I hope his Ma^{ty} will pardon my omission of the rest, being but a complement upon the above written considerations. And yet for the discharge of my duty in that also, I have sent his Maties letter by a gentleman, and taken the boldnes to write a few lines also from my selfe,^a wherein I promise to wayte on his Highnes at the first leysure the publique occasions will allow me, which notwithstanding I hope his Ma^{ty} will not require of me.

The Deputyes for the States of Bohemia now at Heilburne have from thence by Sir Henry Wotton's handes sent me the copy of the two letters which his Ma^{ty} hath formerly receyved from those States, together with their earnest desires to understand what answer his Ma^{ty} had either himselfe made or given me commission to deliver unto their expectation of secours of moneyes mentioned in them. Which I have found better to suppress and conceale from them, because I feared they would not report it with such reasonable satisfaction to the Bohemians as I shall endeavor to doe upon the place. And in the meane time the knowledge thereof can doe no good, and may doe hurt, by diminishing his Maties authority, and so weakening my mediation. And here, because I finde the world hath not so much hope of the effect of my negotiation as I have, and shall have in God Almightyes blessing and his Maties happines till I see more cause to the contrary, give me leave to conjure you, by all your care of his Maties honor and love of me, to procure, and send me with all possible speede by an expresse messenger, his Ma^{ties} full and

^a No. LXXI.

cleere resolution what he will require me to doe in case King Ferdinand should prove so obstinate as is here conceyved; because, if it should so fall out for me to lye idly at his Court till my advertisements of his implacablenes have time to finde his Ma^{ty} in his progresse, and his Ma^{ties} commandements to come backe to me, will shew more respect to that King in his Ma^{ties} Minister then his Minister hath expressed to our Master, and can in my poore opinion admitt none but disadvantageous and dishonourable constructions, wherof I should be loath to be the occasion. Though on the other side I am resolved to be so curious in giving that King and those of his party full measure of all respects due to them, that the most punctilious criticall Spaniard shall have no just cause to compleyne.

The length of the journey I am to make before I shall have occasion to trouble you agayne hath made me at this time presume thus much upon your patience in delivering you all I know concerning busines, and I will not vex you with any ceremony, but rest truly and eternally

Your most affectionate friende

and faythfull humble servant,

DONCASTER.

Sir,

Since the writing of this dispatch I have receyved yours of the 2nd of June, wherunto I finde no occasion to make other returne then of my joy to finde his Ma^{ty} and you well satisfied with that I had then done, as the conscience of my good meaning promiseth me you will be no lesse with that I did after at Bruxelles, and have ventured one here, whereof I shall long to be assured from you.

I have beene put to open this packet once agayne by the receipt of the inclosed from the Princes of the Union since it was shut up, together with a libellous booke from Scioppius, and certeyne advertisement that King Ferdinand is preparing to come to Francfurt, if he be not already on his way, which I hope will give his Ma^{ty} full satisfaction for my not going to Saxony, and shall make me carefull to lay my gistes so that I misse not that King in my

journey towards him, which I begin within this hour if it please God, to whose most blessed protection I commend you, and remayne

Your faythful servant,

DONCASTER.

19 Junii, at Hydelberg.

No. LXXIV.

FREDERICK V. ELECTOR PALATINE TO SIR ISAAC WAKE.

[State Papers. Savoy.]

[Heilbronn, June 30, 1610.]

MONSIEUR. Par la copie cy-jointe dela lettre que j'escri à Monsieur le Duc de Savoy mon cousin, vous verrez plus particulierement les causes pour lesquelles je l'ay prié, tant pour moy qu'au nom des Princes et Estats Unis avec moy, de vouloir disposer la Seign^{rie} de Venise à nous entretenir pour l'espace d'environ six moise, et nous envoyer au plustost la cavallerie Allemande qu'elle a pour le present à sa solde. Et encores que je me tien bien asseuré de la bonne intention dudit Seigneur Duc à s'employer en un si bon œuvre, puisqu'il concerne l'intérêt commun : si est ce que pour tant plus avancer ceste affaire, j'ay bien voulu, pour la ferme confiance que j'ay de vostre sincere affection envers le bien public, et singulierement en mon endroit, y adjouter ce mot exprès pour vous prier, comme je fay bien fort, non seulement de delivrer l'original de madite lettre, mais aussy de contribuer vos bonnes offices et tenir la main, à ce qu'elle puisse au plustost sortir l'effect esperé, et de me procurer et faire tenir cependant la response dudit Seigneur, pour selon icelle me regler: En quoy vous me ferez un singulier plaisir: et l'obligation que je vous en auray me conviera à la recognoistre avec autant de bonne volonté que je fay d'estime de vos merites; estant,

Monsieur, vostre tresaffectionné ami,

FRIDERIC, E. P.

De Heilbron le $\frac{20}{30}$ de Juin 1619.^a

^a Appended to this letter is a copy of the proposition made to the Venetian Ambassador by Wake in accordance with the Elector's request.

No. LXXV.

CHARLES, PRINCE OF WALES, TO VISCOUNT DONCASTER.^a

[Holograph. State Papers. Germany.]

[Greenwich, $\frac{\text{June } 27,}{\text{July } 7,}$ 1619.]

DONCASTER,

I am verrie glad to heer that my brother is of so rype a judgement and of so forward an inclination to the good of Christendume as I fynd by you he is. You may assure your selfe I will be glade not onlie to assiste him with my countenance, but also with my person, if the King my father will give me leave. For the seconde part of your letter I assure you I lyke it verrie well. I hope you shall fynde your olde frend (the Marquesse of Neuechattell) of the sam opinion ye laste left him in; if not, I would he wer. The Spanyards intertaines us still with faire opes of real proceeding; if they deal honnestlie, it's weall; housoever we will looke narrowlie to them that the disseave us not. Don Diego^a is not on his journey to cume from Spaine yet. So, assuring you I will stoppe my eares lyke the serpents if they be inchanters, I rest

Your assured frende,

CHARLES, P.

Greenwich, the 27 of June, 1619.

No. LXXVI.

SIR ISAAC WAKE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM. [Extract.]

[State Papers. Savoy.]

[Turin, $\frac{\text{June } 29,}{\text{July } 9,}$ 1619.]

THIS weeke here is arrived a currier out of Germanie with newes

^a Printed by Mr. Sainsbury in his *Original Papers relating to Rubens*, 118, note.^b Gondomar.

that hath somewhat afflicted the Duke. For having understood of a great rout given unto the Count of Mansfelt by the Count of Burquoy, and of the retraict of the Count de la Tour^a from Vienna, he doth feare that the Spanishe succors (which by this time wilbe arrived with King Ferdinand) comming in so fatal a conjuncture maye ad so much reputation to his affaires, and so farr dismaye the Bohemians, that if they do not receave some present comfort and incoragement from his Matie and the Princes of the Union, togeather with the States of the Lowe Countries, they will hardly be able to subsist, and be inforced to yeld to disadvantageous conditions. On the other side the Venetian Ambassador hath comforted him a little with an advertisement which he hath receaved from his masters, importing that the Duke of Saxony hath declared himselfe in favor of the Bohemians, and that he hath sent them 500 horse for their defence, which newes doth seeme unto this Prince to good to be true, although he be loath to question the credit of it for the author's sake.

The Count of Mansfelt hath dispatched a gentleman hither in dilligence to desyre of the Duke of Savoy 100^m crownes towards the reinforcing of his broken regiment with newe recrewes, and the Duke of Savoy hath returned him back this answere, that he had promised to continue that Regiment onely so long as I might conveniently go into England, and returne backe againe to Turin, and and that now he doth account himselfe free from that ingagement, considering that I have not moved him in his Maties name to continue for any longer time the paye of those troupes. I must confesse I have purposely beene silent therein, because I had no commission from his Matie to speake to that purpose, and, finding that the Duke of Savoy hath already spent uppon those troupes 200^m crownes since I first sent them to the Prince Palatine, and that in Germany they have not hitherto requited this singular benefitt with any eminent demonstration of gratitude, I dare not presume without warrant from my master to passe anie such office in favor of third

^a The Count of Thurn.

persons. For it is a charge that would be felt in the purse of a greater and richer Prince then the Duke of Savoy; and, although some hope of advantage that might accrewe unto himselfe or to his howse did induce him at the first to imbarque himselfe in that buisnesse, yet doth he putt it wholly to the account of his Matie, professing that purely and simplye in contemplation of his Matie he sent those troupes to the Prince Palatine, and that he wilbe ready to continue the paye of them when he shalbe required in his Maties name so to do.

If this secours should be withdrawne from the Bohemians at this time it would be a great weakening unto them, and therefore if his Matie thinke fit to have the Duke of Savoy moved therein, it wilbe very necessarye that I receave such order by an expresse currier, for the ordinary posts do come so slowly that I cannot expect by them anie answeere of this letter in two months and more, which would be to much time to be lost for the Bohemians, considering how much they are streightened at present.

Perhaps I may shortly receave from the Prince Palatine and my Lord of Doncaster some incoragement to drawe on the continuance of this secours a month longer, and by that time, or shortly after, I will hope to understand his Majestyes pleasure, and directions from your Lordship how to governe my selfe herein.

The Duke of Savoy is of opinion that if his Matie would move the Venetians once more to contribute something towards the assistance of the Bohemians, he should find them in this conjuncture well disposed to gratifie him therein, and I do find by the Venetian Ambassador here, that they do wishe very well to the affaires of the Bohemians, and are glad to heare when they do prosper. I dare not of myselfe make this motion unto the Venetian Ambassador, notwithstanding that the Duke of Savoy doth much desyre it, and therefor I will humbly desyre your Lordship that in this perticuler likewise I maye receave his Maties commandements with convenient expedition.

No. LXXVII.

MAXIMILIAN, DUKE OF BAVARIA, TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Munich, July 11, 1619.]

SERENISSIME REX,

Literas Regiæ Dignitatis vestræ tradidit nobis admodum Illustris vir Jacobus Haius Doncastriæ Vicecomes, ab interioribus cubiculis familiaris et in secretiore consessu consiliarius, legatusque Regiæ Dignitatis Vestræ ad Sacri Romani Imperii vicarios, atque simul, tam de sua legatione in sedando Bohemiæ bello et restituenda Germaniæ tranquillitate, quam de Regiæ Dignitatis vestræ benevolentia propenso in nos animo et singulari confidentia, uti in mandatis habebat, coram exposuit; officioque suo pro ea qua præditus est insigni dexteritate apud nos egregie functus est. Ex quo cum inprimis laudabilem vigilantiam ac sollicitudinem Regiæ Dignitatis vestræ de procuranda Germaniæ et Imperii salute, tum etiam mirificam in nos animi affectionem de qua nullum nobis unquam dubium fuit animadverterimus, non solum ea res accidit nobis perquam jucunda, verum etiam Regia Dignitas vestra majori serviendi studio nos sibi devinxit, prout eidem obsequia nostra omneque officii studium quacunque oblata occasione et ad nutum promptissimo animo deferimus, ipsumque legatum ut Regiæ Dignitati vestræ nomine nostro ea pluribus renunciaret rogavimus. Quam Deus Optimus Maximus rebus secundis cumulet et diutissime incolumen servet. Datum ex civitate nostra Monachio, die 11 mensis Julii, anno M.DC.XIX.

Majestatis Vestræ Regiæ
Consanguineus et servitor promptissimus
MAXIMILIANUS.

No. LXXVIII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Munich, July $\frac{2}{12}$, 1619.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

My last was from Ulme of the 24th June, sent by an expresse post to Heydelberg, to be from thence conveyed to you by the next ordinary. In that I gave you an accompt of my purpose to have gone downe by the Danube to Vienna, and of my change of that purpose upon the advertisement I receyved, both from Heydelberg and Augusta, that King Ferdinand was then already on his way to Francfurt. This was confirmed to me at Augusta, where I had leysure to repose two dayes (one of them being Sunday the 27th of June), because, according to the gistes I found there of King Ferdinand his coming on to the election, I could not meete him at any convenient place beyound Saltzburg, and should be there before him though I made easy journeys. Munichen lay now so directly in my way that I could not passe by the Duke of Bavaria unsaluted without a manifest neglect of him, and losse of much information I might draw from him, both of the disposition of King Ferdinand and of the affayres, which I thought necessary to heare reported from both sides. And therefore I found it behoofefull in these considerations to hold to my purpose of spending one of the blankes upon this Prince, though I had almost layd aside the dessein which first made me thinke of going to his court. For, by the way, I had found meanes to learne, without enquiring, that this Duke, in respect of his sicklines and consequently love of a retired life, was altogether aliened from all ambition of being Emperor though it should be offered him, and hath declared himselfe so cleerely therein, that King Ferdinand was for that cause more free from all jealousy of his competition then he would have beene otherwise, for all their alliance and

brotherhoode. Wherefore I commanded my Secretary to draw the inclosed letter,^a by the patterne of those I have to other Princes, in such a generall forme that I might by my discourse give it any shape according as occasion should rise under my hand.

And thus provided I went on to Munichen, where I found our great master's name so much and truly revered by the Duke and all his servantes, as they have fully expressed it to me both in wordes and deedes, that I cannot repent me, and I trust his Maty will not blame me for paying a respect so justly due to his Highnes, though I have presumed to doe it without warrant. I was mett about a mile out of the towne by the Comte de Tilliers,^b sometime Generall in Hungary, and now to this Prince, attended with divers gentlemen of the best quality, and a brave troupe of horse his Highnes entertayneth for his garde. At the Pallace (which I thinke is second to none in Europe) I was receyved by the Comte de Salerne, Grand Maistre, attended with the Prince his foote garde, lodged there in the Duke's absence, notwithstanding all I was able to say or doe to the contrary, royally entertayned and defrayed during my stay, which by necessity was two dayes, because his Highnes, being in a course of phisicke, could not come

^a The following (State Papers, Germany) is probably the letter in question :—

"Jacobus Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rex, Fidei Defensor, &c. Ill^{mo} atque excellentissimo Principi ac Domino, Domino Maximiliano Comiti Palatino ad Rhenum, Duci utriusque Bavariae, consanguineo et amico nostro charissimo. Illustissime Princeps, consanguinee et amice charissime, Quum ea quae nos semper tenuit pro Rep. Christianâ sollicitudo hortata sit nobilem hunc et illustrem virum Jacobum Haium, Doncastriae Vicecomitem, consanguineum nostrum, ad Sacri Romani Vicarios Legatum mittere, ut si quâ fieri possit, illius nostro nomine studio aspirante horum autoritati, depulsâ belli Bohemici nube, universæ Germaniae tranquillitas reddatur, dedimus et insuper in mandatis ad vestram quoque Celsitudinem, nobis multâ et sanguinis et affinitatis necessitudinē conjunctissimam, officii et consilii causâ accedere, simulque suam operam ultro offerre sicubi Celsitudini vestrae esse possit usui, quod eum pro officio sedulè facturum uti nos certo scimus, itâ eandem omniuò a Celsitudine vestrâ illi haberi fidem ac si nos ipsi presentes loqueremur valdè cupimus et rogamus.

"Deus Opt. Max. Celsitudinem vestram quam diutissimè sospitem et florentem servet. Dat. e Palatio nostro Westm. 28^o Apr. 1619."

^b Tilly.

from his countrey house the first, and never useth to give audience there.

I will not adventure to send his Ma^{ty} a character of this Prince his excellent partes under my hand, which I am assured hath beene ere this done more masterly by Sir Henry Wotton. But two thinges I must say. First, that his Highnes is exceedingly misunderstood to their shame that have reported him to his Ma^{ty} for a Jesuited Prince; from which imputation he is so innocent that, were it not for the reverence of his yet living father who brought that vermin into this countrey, they were it may be in some danger of being driven out by his Highnes, who doth now only allow and not favor them. Next, that no subject or servant of our master's can make larger or stronger professions of honoring his Ma^{ty} then his Highnes hath done to me, and yet if I have any skill his complexion is nothing complementall.

That which I sayd to his Highnes was no more then a paraphrase upon the letter, with an addition of his Ma^{ties} knowledge and respect of his vertues, and an intreaty that, as he did simpathize with his Ma^{ty} in many of them, and particularly in his affection to the publique tranquillity, so he would be pleased to shew it now by concurring with his Ma^{ty} in perswading King Ferdinand to give way therunto. For in that day I spent here among his servantes I got so much cleerenes of the truth of that I had heard before concerning his Highnes abhorring all thoughtes of being Emperor, that I resolved it could doe nothing but harme to touch never so daintily upon that string. And if there be any humor of jealousy in King Ferdinand, my comming hither from Heydelberg, though saying nothing, will stirre it no lesse powerfully and much more safely.

His Highnes' answer to the letter you finde inclosed. That which he made to my enlargement began with a protestation that he esteemed the letter from his Ma^{ty} delivered by me to be the greatest honor he yet ever receyved; that if God had blessed him with any children he would have left it to them for a most pretious piece, and

charged them on his blessing to honor and serve his Ma^{ty} and his posterity; that himselfe should esteeme it the greatest happines could befall him if his Ma^{ty} could finde any occasion to make a tryall whether he spake those wordes from his heart or not. And so, after he had continued long in the same stile, in conclusion he required me to employ the service I professed to him, in being his agent with his Ma^{ty} to assure him of his humblest affection and service. The request I made to him he granted, by giving me commission to say what I would as from him to King Ferdinand, wherein he promised to avow me, but sayd he doubted not but I should finde his brother so respective of his Ma^{ties} mediation that I should not neede to use his name, which would have lesse strength. This his Highnes was bound to say for his brother. But the language of his court is quite other; and the same I heard at Heydelberg upon the very same groundes, and this new one, that King Ferdinand challengeth that kingdome as hereditarily decended on him, and if that be yet disputable, that he will at last so determine it by conquest. Touching that King being on the way to Francfurt, and where, (wherof I humbly prayed to be certainly informed, that I might accordingly dispose of my journey,) he protested that he could give me no satisfaction, having heard no word neither from his owne agent, nor from that King since the advertisement he receyved aboute a ten dayes since of his purpose to lye here in his passage to the election, and of his intention to goe about by Gratz, because he found the way thorough Upper Austria unsafe for him. This he sayd he found as strange as I could doe, but thought it was occasioned by the incertainty whether the election be yet, or will be at all deferred, the resolution wherof was conceyved to be the Elector of Mayence his busines at Heydelberg, but there is yet here no certayne newes of the issue. In fine he came to say, the best advice he could give me was to abide here in his house till I could informe my selfe better, for feare I might make more hast then speede in going away, and pressed me with infinite curtesy to accept this kinde offer, which notwithstanding I refused, because the least lingring bringeth me more vexation

My L. Lisle.

of minde then any travell can give my body, and by conference with the Comte de Tilliers (who doth most perfectly understand those countreyes) I am at least directed a way whereby I cannot misse of King Ferdinand wheresoever he now be, the relation wherof I leave to this my noble worthy brother-in-law, whom I beseeche yow, Sir, to use with the same kindnes of affection you would do me, and to intreat his Mat^v to give him thanks for honoring this legation thus farre with his company, which he would have continued to the end, but that he is recalled by privat urgent occasions.

Sir, you see with what stuffe I entertayne your time and mine owne, which surely might be both better employed if my fortune were no worse then my will. But I am bound to give his Mat^v an accompt how I spend it, though it be not to my minde. I hope I shall one day send yow something better worth your trouble, if my inabilityes doe not then make my paynes as unprofitable as my idlenes is now. But I shall at least have more occasion to shew my industry and fidelity in my master's service, which is all I have promised, and can performe, except it be my prayers to God Almighty to blesse his Mat^v and me for his sake with happy successe in this employment, which I doe dayly begge upon my knees, and now in that posture humbly kisse his Mat^{ties} sacred handes, and rest

Your most affectionate and faythfull humble servant,

DONCASTER.

Munichen, this 2d of Julie, 1619.

Sir,

Let me humbly pray you to procure a letter of acknowledgment from his Mat^v to this Prince, which avowment will cleere my conscience from the guiltines of having abused so worthy a prince. Sir, as I was closing this packet, I receyved almost full assurance that King Ferdinand is still at Vienna, and a reason therof, which I have committed to my L^d Lisle.

No. LXXIX.

JOHN GEORGE ELECTOR OF SAXONY TO VISCOUNT DONCASTER.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Dresden, July 3rd 1619.]

Dei gratia Johanes Georgius Saxoniae, Juliae, Cliviae et Montium Dux, Sacri Romani Imperii Archimarescallus, Elector et ejusdem Imperii iis in locis, quæ jure utuntur Saxonico, Vicarius, &c.

Nobilis et illustris Domine, sincere nobis dilecte, gratiam et benevolentiam nostram tibi denunciamus. Ex serenissimi Principis Domini Jacobi, Magnæ Britanniae, Franciae et Hyberniae Regis, Domini consanguinei et affinis nostri charissimi, transmissis literis Regiae ad nos ablegationis causam, tuis vero quam ob rem iter ad Hungariae et Bohemiae Regem Ferdinandum fratrem nostrum charissimum suscepere cognovimus. Et sicut Regiae nobis fuerunt jucundissimæ, quippe pacificatoriae, et amoris benevolentiae et humanitatis plenæ, ita gratissimus nobis tuus fuisset adventus coram, ut benevolum Regiae Serenitatis animum percipere, mentem nostram Regiam erga Serenitatem bene affectam declarare, et tibi tanquam legato Electoralem favorem exhibere potuissemus. Cum vero adductæ causæ præsentiam denegarint, te excusatum non solum habemus, verum etiam ad tractanda et perficienda injuncta successus animi ex sententiâ optamus.

Laboravimus et nos in pace reducendâ, et quidem strenuè acta fortassis et probasset exitus, ni mors summi intervenisset Imperatoris, et bonam nostram intervertisset intentionem. Laborabunt tamen hac in re et Co-electores nostri absentiumque legati Francofurti jam congregati, et eo diligentius quo impensius id efflagitat Electorale officium, Romani Imperii status, et summum imminens periculum.

Laudabiles quorum conatus et nos pro virili annuente Dei gratia promovebimus.

Ad Regias responsum distulimus tuo de adventu non certiorati. Officio vero non deerimus nostro, si certi quid hac in parte nobis

constabit. Vale et quidem bene, et ab clementissimo Electore nil nisi clementiam et Electoralem favorem expecta. Dabantur Dresdæ, 3 Julii anno 1619.

JOHANNES GEORGIUS, Elector.

No. LXXX.

JAMES I. TO THE PRINCES OF THE UNION.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Oatlands, July 4, 1619.]

MESSIEURS NOUS TRESCHERS FILZ ET COUSINS,—Nous avons esté bien marris d'intendre par la lettre^a qu'il vous a pleu nous escrire de Heylbron le 17 Juin ce que vous nous avez representé de l'estat dangereux des affaires presentes de l'Empire, et les fortes apprehensions que vous avez que le feu qui est allumé en la Boheme ne vienne à s'espandre et à embraser toute l'Allemagne. A quoy certes nous ne pourrions que compatir et porter nos sentiments bien vifs avec les vostres, pour l'interest et l'affection commune que nous avons avec vous à ce que est de la conservation de la Religion et les libertez dudit Empire. Et ne pouvons que vous exhorter, prier et conjurer en tant qu'en nous est, de vouloir apporter tout ce qui dependra de vostre soing, pouvoir et prudence pour empescher le cours de ce mal, et le contenir, jusqu'à ce qu'il puisse estre assoupi, dans les bornes du siege qu'il a pris, de peur qu'il ne vienne à troubler le repos general de la Chrestienté, et faire ouverture aux malheureux desseings de l'ennemi commun d'icelle. Nous avons à ceste fin envoyé un Ambassade expres et solemnel en vos quartiers avec non moindres frais que nos eust peu couster un bon secours ; dont nous esperons que le fruit et les effects seront tels qu'il aydera à estouffer ce mal à sa naissance. Mais vous nous permettrez de vous dire qu'il nous a semblé un peu estrange que si soudainement apres

^a No. LXVII.

le renouvellement recent de la ligue que nous avons faite avec vous vous nous sommiez de vous envoyer secours; lequel par la nature et conditions de ladite ligue ne doibt estre que pour vostre defensive, et ne peut avoir lieu jusqu'à ce que vous soyez assailis, suivant les termes expres d'icelle; à quoy, graces à Dieu, nous ne voyons pas que soyez encores reduits, et nous asseurons bien confidemment que ne le serez pas, vous comportans avec la retenue et moderation que nous nous promettons de vous; puis que c'est à l'instance requisition du Roy d'Espagne que nous nous interposons pour la pacification de ces troubles, lequel ausy nous à depuis nagueres grandement remerciez par ses lettres de la diligence que nous avons apportée à ce bon office par l'envoy de nostre dit Ambassadeur, se donnant assurance par la creance qu'il dit que nous avons tant envers la maison d'Autriche qu' envers les Princes de vostre Union et les estats de Boheme, que personne ne peut operer avec plus d'efficace et de fruit à ce bon effect que nous. Et tout recentemente nous avons ausy reçu pareilles lettres de remerciements sur ce subject de l'Archeduc Albert, pour tesmoignage du desir que l'un et l'autre a de voir ces esmotions accoisées en l'Empire. Avec quoy nous vous priérons ausy de considerer, que tandis que nous faisons cest office, et tenons la qualité de mediateur, ils n'est pas convenable que nous nous declarions pour l'un ny l'autre parti; à fin de ne perdre l'autorité et creance, et avec icelle l'effect de nostre intervention. Mais s'il advenoit que, l'entremise de nostre dit Ambassadeur ayant fait condescendre les Bohemiens à l'acceptacion de conditions justes, c'est assavoir que soyent raisonnables et seures pour eux, le Roy Ferdinand refusast de se mettre à mesme raison de son coste, en ce cas nous sommes resolu et promettons de ne point abandonnez ceux de nostre profession, mais d'agir à bon escient pour les secourir et defendre. Qui est ce que lon peut raisonnablement requerir de l'obligation de nostre assistancé. Et ainsy nous demeurerons, Messieurs nos tres chers Filz et Cousins.

A nostre Maison d'Otelandes,
ce 4^{me} de Juillet, 1619.

No. LXXXI.

JAMES I. TO FREDERICK V. ELECTOR PALATINE.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Oatlands, July 11, 1619.]

MONSIEUR MON TRESCHER FILZ,—Vous verrez par le lettre generale^a que nous escrivons à Mess^{rs} les Princes de l'Union la reponce que nous leur faisons sur l'instance que par la leur escrite^b de Heylbron ils nous ont faite de leur envoyer secours comme y estans tenus par les conditions de la ligue que nous avons recentemente renouvellee avec eux. Et y avons bien voulu adjouster celle-cy vers vous en particulier pour vous dire qu'ayant si sognoeusement fait entendre à vostre Ambassadeur le Baron de Dona, estant dernièrement icy, ce que nous desirions vous communiquer de bouche à vous seul comme l'enfant de la maison, sans que cela fust en aucune façon publié par traité ou autrement, C'est assavoir, que si lesditz Princes de l'Union venoyent à estre assaillis encores que par les articles de ladite ligue lz pourroyent nous demander les secours stipulez, toutesfois parce que l'estat de nos affaires estoit tel et nos finances tellement diminuées par les occasions extraordinaires de despense qui nous estoyent survenues tant au dedans comme au dehors que nous n'en pourrions pas fournir presentement aux frais et à la solde dudit secours, nous desirions, si dans un an la necessité se presentoit de nous faire ladite demande, que lesditz Princes voulussent faire l'emprunt des deniers en nostre nom pour la premiere année, lesquels nous promettons de repayer au bout d'icelle, et de continuer par apres nous mesmes le payement dudit secours. Nous nous sommes un peu esbahis que vous, à qui nous avons donné ceste cognoissance secreta de l'estat pregnant de nos affaires, non seulement ne soyez allé au devant de cette instance desditz Princes que nous vient si hors de saison, mais aussy avez permis qu'ilz ayent prevenu par icellé le juste temps de

^a No. LXXX.^b No. LXVII.

la requisition qui ne doit avoir lieu que lors qu'ilz se trouveront assaillis, et mesmes apres qu'ilz nous auront rendus pleinement informez et satisfaits de la justice d'icelle, ainsy que nous feismes aussy entendre audit Baron de Dona par la bouche de nostre cousin le Duc de Lenox, et de nostre Secretaire d'Estat, parce qu' autrement ledit secours pourroit estre employé au prejudice des traitez et de l'amitie que nous avons avec d'autres princes. Nous luy dismes de plus que, si de gayeté de cœur ilz venoyent à provoquer leurs voisins, nous ne nous tiendrions pas obligez de les defendre contre le juste ressentement et vengeance qu'on en voudroit prendre, n'estant nostre ligue fondée que pour la defense et manutention des droits et libertez de l'empire; outre que, pour le propre interest de la dignité que nous tenons, il ne nous seront pas expedient ny convenable d'animer par un tel exemple les courages des subjets à la revolte contre leurs princes ny à des attentats extravagants et illegitimes. Ce que nous vous avons bien voulu faire entendre à fin que, par l'autorité que vous avez maintenant en l'Empire, et principalement parmi les Princes del'Union, vous taschier de lez contenir dans les bornes d'une juste defence, et qu'aussy par l'affection filiale que vous nous portez vous ayez soing à l'advenir de mesnager tellement nos interests en ces occurrences (sans prejudicier à celui de nostre honneur) que nous affaires en puissent recevoir le soulagement que leur est à present necessaire. Ce que nous promettans confidemment de vous, nous prions Dieu, Monsieur mon trescher filz, qu'il vous ait tousjours en sa sainte garde. A nostre maison d'Otelandes ce 4^{eme} de Juillet, 1619.

No. LXXXII.

FERDINAND II., KING OF HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA, TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Salzburg, July 7, 1619.]

FERDINANDUS Secundus, Dei gratia Hungariæ et Bohemiæ, &c. Rex, Archidux Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Styriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ, Marchio Moraviæ, et Comes Tyrolis, &c. Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi ac Domino Domino Jacobo, Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hybernæ, &c. Regi, fratri, consanguineo et amico nostro charissimo, salutem et felicitatem. Serenissime princeps, frater, consanguinee et amice charissime, tam ex literis Serenitatis vestræ, quàm ad honorificam hanc ejusdem legationem apud nos peragendam destinatæ personæ nobilis et illustris viri Jacobi Haii, Doncastriæ Vicecomitis, &c. relatione, sufficienter non minus quam perlibenter intelleximus bonam Serenitatis vestræ affectionem erga nos et augustam domum nostram luculentam declaratam, intentionem nimirum ac desiderium ostendendo, quatenus in alma pace et quiete Regna et ditiones nostræ, opera quoque conciliationis Serenitatis vestræ perdurare valerent; quo nomine ut primum hunc vestrum affectum amica significatione nos suscepisse expertum esse possit, omni occasione respondere handquaquam prætermisuri sumus. Et quidem circa motus Bohemicos planam et uberem omnium notitiam, præfato Serenitatis vestræ legato (ipso juxta desiderium vestrum facile ad alloquium admisso et audito) fecimus, unde nimirum a quo Serenitatis quoque vestræ calculo et censura animum nostrum pacis amplectendæ cum primis studiosum fuisse, nosque clementiam rigori semper antetulisse, censi nulli dubitamus: omnem vero conatum eo nos intendissem Serenitatem vestram serie volumus, ut dudum jam sopitis et compositis ex motibus suscitatis incommodis quibus Reipublicæ tranquillitas exagitur et perturbatur, universa pristino statui reddita fuissent, adhibitis et tentatis omnibus mediis quæ ad consequendum hoc intentum nostrum proficua esse cognovissemus: prouti etiam inchoatum a defuncta

quondam Sacra Cæsarea Regiaque Majestate sanctæ memoriæ per certos Sacri Romani Imperii Electores, et alios summos principesque viros, adhibendum interpositionem (etiannum iteratis scriptiõibus ipsos Principes requirendo) sollicitavimus, quorum quidem operam speramus salutaria et optima remedia secutura esse. Interim tamen, si ex laudabili Serenitatis vestræ suscepto conatu et intento per ablegatos suos, nobis modi et media deinceps suggesta fuerint, ut sine nostra et inclitæ domus nostræ offensione admitti et suscipi queant ea cognoscere, gratum nobis futurum est, neque intermitteremus nos æquis conditionibus propositis Serenitatis vestræ sententia id statui debere, ut manifestum fiat, et animum nostrum ad pacem sectandam unice affectum et inclinatum fuisse, et simul salutari non minus ac laudabili vestro studio et desiderio tranquillitatis, quo flagrat, nos accommodare et respondere contendisse. Porro de tristi decessus casu sacræ quondam Cæsariæ Regiæque Majestatis Matthiæ Romanorum Imperatoris, patris et patruelis nostri observandissimi ac charissimi, pio mæroris sensu Serenitatem vestram affici non dubitamus. De cætero, posteaquam iter in Imperii partes per nos susceptum acceleramus pro temporis moderni ratione (continuationi itineris attendere necesse habentes) ad aliam aliquam declarationem nobis accedendi facultas haud dabatur; ubi vero in Imperiali civitate Francofurtensi constituimur, atque habita commoditate temporis in hoc negotio, ulterius quid per memoratum Serenitatis vestræ legatum nobis expositum fuerit, eundem pari facilitate audituri sumus, et pro rei conditione nos declarare non omittemus. Hæcque erant, quæ penes nuntiatum nostrum præfato legato Serenitatis vestræ datum paucis respondenda esse volumus. Votis ejusdem ut Deus præpotens aspiret, ipsam diutissime sospitem florentem tueatur prosperisque rerum successibus beet, summo cum affectu desideramus. Datum in Archiepiscopali civitate Salisburgo, 17 mensis Julii, anno Domini M.DC.XIX.

Serenitatis vestræ Frater et

Consanguineus amantissimus

FERDINANDUS.

No. LXXXIII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Salzburg, July 9, 1619.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Thes ar not yet
received by me.

If my two last dispatches from Ulme and Munichen have not sufficiently expressed how much I have been perplexed with the uncertainty and contrariety of reportes and advertisements concerning King Ferdinand his coming to the Diette at Francfurt, these will at last make you capable thereof, and satisfy his Ma^{ty} that my lingring on the way proceeded from no slackenes in my duty toward his commandements, but from my just feare of that which hath since happened.

I have not
heard of my
Lord Lisle's
arrival.

I will presume that my Lord Lisle hath, before these come to your handes, acquainted you at least, if not his Ma^{ty}, with the conjecturall advise of King Ferdinand his being at Vienne I receyved from the Duke of Bavaria the very morning I departed from his Court; and with my resolution taken before, and then confirmed, of directing my journey by water in such a manner that I might be sure to meete his Ma^{ty} whether he were on the way or not. With all which care and providence I had notwithstanding missed him, if I had stayed but that one day lesse at Munichen, which I spent too much there as I thought. For the very day I came to Wasserburg, having there made provision of boates to goe downe the river, a discrete man of the Prince Elector Palatine's (whom his Highnes hath lent me for a farrier) learned of a postillon passing thorough that towne that his Ma^{ty} would be at Saltzburg upon Wednesday the 7th of this moneth, in conformity to the advertisement I had long before receyved at Ulme. And yet I know not whether I should have beene diverted a second time from taking the speede of the river if the Comte de Sollern had not early the next morning certified me as much by the Duke of

Bavaria his commandement, and the Bishop of Saltzburg likewise, to whom I wrat the night before to that purpose. Upon which triple consent I went on to Saltzburg, arrived there on Munday the 5th, and, hearing the King riding post with not above 50 persons in his trayne would be there also the next day by noone, I sent a gentleman towards him with commandement to let his Ma^{ty} understand by some chiefe person about him that I attended his Ma^{ties} coming to Saltzburg out of feare that my going forth to meete him further would look more like importunity then duty, and humbly desired to have an audience granted me at his first convenience; which his Ma^{ty} appoynted at two of the clocke the same day: sent a Baron to salute me at his first arrivall to the towne, the same man at the houre to bring me to my audience with coaches borrowed of the Bishop, and I found his Ma^{ty} himself, with respect more then enough, standing at the doore of the chamber where he had appoynted privatly to heare me. But, before I relate what I sayd, it will be needefull for me to make a brieffe report of what I had learned by the way of the present state of the affayres in Bohemia, because I was to dresse his Ma^{ties} commandements by that glasse. First, in generall, I found the voyce of fame constant in all places, that since Comte Mansfelt his defeate the Bohemians are extremely declined in their hopes, though not much in their courage; the Kinges party so much puffed up therupon that their friendes everywhere rejoyce already as in the day of their triumphe; and, if there were no ebbes in the fortune of warre, they had reason. For on the one side the Comte de Bucquoy hath since his victory put himselfe out of Budewish into the field, burned above fifty townes and villages, putting the people, without regard of sexe or age, to the sword, and on some of them, especially ministers, his soldiers have exercised more then barbarous cruelty, which he dischargeth wholly upon the Hungars that came lately to him. It is sayd that he is now marching towards Prague upon some great attempt, for the performance wherof he hath beene lately furnished from Vienna with a great quantity of munition conducted safely to him by 600 mus-

katers. And since that, upon the King's removing into these partes, he hath receyved plenary authority to governe the warre absolutely according to his wisdom, and the occasion. They say he hath given the King assurance to reduce that kingdome shortly unto his obedience. For the administration of the other of Hungary, and withholding the adjacent partes from revolting during the King's absence (which he intendes not above sixe weekes from the day he sett forward), Archduke Leopold is left at Vienna with full power and sufficient forces, but diversly reported. On the other side the Comte de Thurne, of whose being lodged in the fauxburgs of Vienna I advertised his Ma^{ty} in my dispatch from Heydelberg, and have since learned that he expected to have bene lett into that citty by intelligence he presumed therin, being deluded in that hope by a wile of King Ferdinandes, who called the suspected burgers to a parley, and in the meanwhile tooke in 500 horse; that Comte is now a good space since retired with shame enough to Bohemia, and joyned with the Comte de Holach, who is sayd to be not above three Dutch miles from Buequoy, though we heare not of any thing hath passed betweene them. The Comte of Mansfelt is in Prague, levying new forces, building two great bulwarkes, and giving such other order for the defence of that citty that it seemes they apprehend a siege, and are resolved to die on the place if they should not be able to maintayne it, rather then put themselves into the enemyes mercy, which hath bene found so cruell. The Romane Catholiques of that citty are sayd to be also combined with them by oath in the same resolution; but the truth of this report, or sincerity of their intentions, I cannot assure.

Supposing, and I doubt too truly, this to be the face of the affayres in Bohemia, and that the King will certainly be Emperor in a short space, and be assured of it in shorter, there needed no long deliberation to resolve me that unles I could make a good step into the treaty at the first, it was likely afterward to goe slowly on. And therefore, to loose no time, having craved leave in respect of

his Maties short stay to speake of busines at my first audience, I discharged the ceremony of condolence in few wordes, and came to declare the substantiall part of my errand, being, as I sayd, to make offer of, the King my master's interposition and of my service in his name for the mediation of a Peace betweene his Ma^{ty} and his subjects of Bohemia; whereunto my master had beene earnestly requested by his deare brother the King of Spayne, and easily induced by the concurrence of his owne inclination to all workes of this nature, in which he had beene hitherto evermore happy, and wished he might be in this above any other, as concerning the good of all Christendome in generall, of the Empire in speciall, and more particularly the house of Austria and his Majesty therein, toward whom the singular affection my master did beare, I sayd, would be better testified by his letters then my wordes, and with that presented them. His Ma^{ty} demanded whether they contayned any busines or were only to give me credence; and when I answered both, it pleased his Ma^{ty} to read them first, and then after many professions of mutuall affection to my master, acknowledgements of his favor, and enquiry after his late sicknes and present health, at last comming to the busines he sayd that he thought his Ma^{ty} of Great Brittain was not well informed how the Bohemians his subjects had behaved themselves toward him. And when I replied that the particular knowledge thereof was a poynt my master had given me in speciall charge to be at first informed of from his Ma^{ty}, he promised within an houre to send one of his Counsell to me to that purpose. I instanced that in the meane time I should be very glad to be assured from his owne mouth of his good acceptance of my master's loving offer, and to be directed how I should proceede further in the execution thereof. Whereunto, finding his Maties answer more kinde then particular, I craved pardon for my importunity, and excused it by saying, that his Ma^{ty} had the reputation of a good and of a gracious master, that I served such a one too, and wished above all other things to approve myselfe a good servant to him, which I could

not doe to my owne conscience unles I gave him a better accompt of his commandements then I could doe yet upon his Ma^{ties} wordes, and therefore humbly prayed him to speake cleerely to me. But his Ma^{ty} herein also referred me to his Counsellor, and promised, after I had spoken with him, to give me the next day another audience, assuring me in generall that my master should receyve full satisfaction, which was all I could obtayne, and so tooke leave for that time.

The Counsellor came at last, though the Dutch houre were as long as their mile. His information against the Bohemians consisted of a long recitall of his Ma^{ties} seeking to reduce them by fayre meanes after the Emperor's death (for at that period he began), and of their obstinate refusing to returne to his obedience, which he aggravated at the end with a no shorter rehersall of their severall practises to draw the Austrians, Moravians, and the rest of their neighbors his subjects into the same rebellion. All which he hath promised to sett downe in writing at his first coming to Francfurt, and therefore, fearing I may misreport it, I will till then forbear to trouble his Ma^{ty} therewith. This ended, he acknowledged many thanks in his master's name for his Ma^{ties} loving offer of his interposition, but sayd that other princes also had done the like, and that he thought his Ma^{ty} would give me the same answer he had done to them, which was, that, since the compounding of these troubles had beene formerly referred to foure Princes of the Empire, the Elector of Mayence, the Electors Palatine and Saxe, and the Duke of Baviere, his Ma^{ty} could not now withdraw it out of their handes without injury. I replied that there was a great difference betweene my master's entermise and that of other princes, because they had offered theirs voluntarily; but my master, though he came with as good a will as any other prince, yet he had beene besides intreated therunto by the King of Spayne, not without his Ma^{ties} knowledge and consent as there was reason to conceyve, and that therefore that answer which might satisfy other princes could be no way contentfull to his Ma^{ty}.

That whereas he pretended the busines could not be taken out of the Princes of the Empire their handes without wronging them, seing it had beene only referred to them, but was never undertaken by them, I could not see why they should be offended; and that they would not I durst undertake for two of them, to wit, the Prince Elector Palatine and Duke of Baviere, whom in my passage I had found both glad of my master's intervention. All this could not drive the Counsellor out of his first hold, but, finding himselfe a little straightened, he enlarged thus much farther, that his master should see most of those Princes or their deputies at Frankfurt, and that the Spanish Ambassador would be there also. That then his Ma^{ty} would be able to resolve better what to doe, in the meane time prayed me to rest assured that my master should have all satisfaction. I replyed this delay would give him little, and to the end my master might not take it to imply a negative, I desired to know upon what conditions his Ma^{ty} would be pleased to agree to a cessation of armes (that being the first step to a treaty of peace), that I might against the meeting at Frankfurt dispose the Bohemians to accept of them. At this he was startled, rubbed his fingers, sayd it was a new proposition, and now out of all reason and season, his Ma^{ty} having the Bohemians as it were in his power; but at last upon my urging that it seemed then his master would hearken to no peace but when he had neede of it, he fell at last to this excuse, that his Ma^{ty} had no counsell about him here to advise of a matter of that importance. But to putt him by this shift too, I offered, if his Ma^{ty} would command me, to go post to the Bohemians, and to bring from them the most moderate demandes I could, upon promise that his Ma^{ty} would at my coming to Frankfurt enter into a treaty. But I could get no more of the Counsellor but this, that he would make a faythfull relation to his master of my propositions, and that I should the next day understand his Ma^{ts} pleasure therein from his owne mouth.

Accordingly yesterday afternoone, immediately before his Ma^{ties} departure, I was admitted to a second audience. At the which

I pressed his Ma^{ty} to the same effect I had done his Counsellor, by all the new arguments a nightes meditation could suggest to me, taking notice at the beginning, from his Counsellor's information, of his Ma^{ties} former clemency and patience in persevering to seeke to win his subjects by all the wayes of sweetenes notwithstanding their insolent neglect of him. But I sayd that those motions might have beene then misunderstood by them, and be still misinterpreted by others, to have proceeded at that time from his want of power to bring them under his subjection by the way of force; that it would therefore make much for the manifestation of his goodnes, for the unfayned obliging of his people's heartes, and for the eternall glory of his name, if now, when God had given him the better of the field in the eyes of all the world, he would be pleased notwithstanding to trace over once agayne those his owne royall steppes of being first in seeking to come to a reconciliation, or if his subjects deserved that no longer, at the least to be willing to have their peace sought of him by my master's intercession, who out of the common interest which all Kings have in the honor and safety each of other, and out of his personall affection to his Ma^{ty}, would not so much as wishe the making of a peace upon other termes then might be honorable for him to grant, and had required me to declare so much unto his Ma^{ty}. I pressed him yet further by taking notice of the opinion generally and indubitably conceyved that his Ma^{ty} would be chosen Emperor, touching on the common place of all wise Princes' affectation to give demonstrations of their clemency at their entrance, and insisting more particularly upon the ill effects which might follow in the Empire upon the continuance of a warre begun upon the Breach of Priviledges. Concluding in the end that, since the fortune of warre is alwayes aguish, and the event oftentimes not answerable to the best grounded hope, his Ma^{ty} should not be ill advised to fixe the wheele while it standes in his favor, especially seeing a higher elevation of his victory would in the end turne but to his losse and repentance for having desolated and impover-

ished the kingdome wherof he is already invested, and by the same meanes weakened and endangered the Empire wherof he might, without vanity, be in expectation.

But neither my reasons nor instance could move his Majesty one hayres breadth out of the circle wherein it seemes both he and his Counsellor were charmed to keepe, which is a generall assurance that at Francfurt, when the Spanish Ambassador and the Princes nominated to be arbitrators shall meete, his Ma^{ty} will harken further to our Master's intervention and then give him satisfaction. But what the meaning of that harkening and satisfaction is, they will not yet declare otherwise then negatively that they doe not thereby intend to oblige his Ma^{ty} to enter into a treaty, nor to lay downe armes what conditions soever may be proposed, although they doe not absolutely deny it neither. And with this warines I thinke his Ma^{ty} will finde the inclosed from this King precisely penned. Wherof it pleased the Counsellor to make the Kinges Secretary shew me the rude draft yesterday morning, to the end that it might be altered, as he sayd, if I did not finde it would be satisfactory to his Ma^{ty}. And then at my intreaty was the clause of remitting me to Francfurt inserted, which my secretary who served me for interpreter delivered in these words, *promptissimi erimus de pace conciliandâ tractatum inire*, which the Counsellor would not suffer to goe so, but to my face dictated thus to the Secretary, *non denegabimus aurem prebere*, or some such other waterish phrase as I presume standes in the letter. For, the King giving me the letter out of his owne hand, his secretary not being by, I could not aske a copy of it.

Sir, you see how large and particular an accompt I have taken paynes to give you, not to the matter only, but of the very wordes, and almost syllables of all that passed in my negotiation here. Which though it be both an unusuall and simple manner of relation, yet I have not been ashamed to use it of purpose, to the end that his Ma^{ty} may by the same light I have upon the place judge of a phancy wherewith both sleeping and waking I am troubled, which I doe humbly submitt to his Ma^{ties} all-discerning wisdomes,

praying God he may both censure and finde it but an idle dreme. It is that if this King (whom I conceyve, according to the reputation held of him in the world, to be of a quiet and mild disposition,) were left, to the liberty of his owne nature and counsells, I should nothing doubt to bring his Ma^{ty} of from this Christian attempt with glory and contentment. But, finding him as I thinke I doe plainly in all his owne and his counsellors' discourse teachered^a by some higher directions (whether it be of Rome or Spayne or both in one), I am very anxious of the issue, and suspitious that this putting me over to Francfort is an artifice to protract time till the Comte de Buquoy hath executed his dessein and the King is chosen Emperor, and that then they will either amuse me with an endles treaty, or post me over agayne to Vienne, or at the best quite reject his Ma^{ties} intercession, which I doe the rather apprehend, because I understand the Comte d'Oniat is immediately after the Election to goe away into Spayne. If this be but a jealous imagination of mine, I trust his Ma^{ty} will judge it to arise from the fervency of my love, and zeale of his honor, and pardon me if against all adventures I humbly desire to be instructed in three poyntes by the returne of this gentleman, of whom I have made choyce because there hath beene good experience of his diligence.

1. First, If I can neither obtayne truce nor treaty at Francfurt, whether my gracious Master will thinke it for his honor that I wayte on further on his Ma^{ty}. If not wait, whether I shall congratulate his Election. If I shall congratulat I desire to be furnished with a letter against the time. If not, to know in what maner and language I shall take leave.

2. Secondly, whether his Ma^{ty} will admitt of any partner in the honor of the treaty. Which I desire to know because your brother Calvert in one of his letters while I was yet in England gave me an inkling that the French King is likely to send an Ambassador to the Election, which was confirmed to me at Brussels, but I have since heard no more of it.

^a The word " tutored " has been written above this.

3. Lastly, whether his Ma^{ty} will at all, and in what manner he will, condescend to be joyned with the Princes of the Empire in the treaty.

I shall not rest til I understand his Maties pleasure herein by you. In the meane time, that I may omitt nothing in my power, I purpose to dispatche one of my servants who is well known to the best of the Bohemians and knows the countrey, with commission to let them understand what hath beene the effect of my negotiation here; and an intreaty that they will send Deputyes to Francfurt furnished with their apology to the King's accusation, with their recrimination of his breache of their priviledges, and with such modest conditions of peace as may be fitt for their friends to presse in their behalfe. I intend not to send the King's letter by this messenger, but scilicet the King's our Master's either to deliver it to their Deputyes at Francfurt, or els deferre it letters to the Bohemians. till my owne going to Prague, if I finde I may be likely to have occasion.

Sir, the bearer can tell you in what hast this was written, to the end that if it be possible he might be with his Ma^{ty} before the progresse begin, and with me agayne before the Election is ended. Upon which reason it may please you to excuse both to his Ma^{ty} and your selfe all the markes of hast you have observed in it; and so with my incessant prayers I rest,

Your most affectionate faythfull friende
and humble servant,

DONCASTER.

Saltzburg, 9th July 1619.

No. LXXXIV.

CREDENTIALS GIVEN BY VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO WILLIAM
NORREYS.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Salzburg, [?] July $\frac{6}{19}$, [?] 1619.]

QUUM nonnulla haberem quæ, dum ex mandato Serenissimi Magnæ Britanniae Regis Domini mei clementissimi ad nobilissimos regni Bohemici ordines ipse possim accedere, interea cum splendidissimis dominationibus suis communicata cuperem, nec satis scirem ad quem unum præter ceteros literas darem, ad universos vero scribere nec meæ modestiæ nec e re fortasse ipsorum esse ducerem, pro optimo visum est generoso huic Gulielmo Norreys familiari meo expertæ fidei et industriæ quæ vellem in mandatis dare. Cui ut eandem fidei quæ mihi ipsi præsentī deberetur universi singulique præbere velint valde rogat

Nobilissimarum splendidissimarumque dominationum tuarum humillimus et studiosissimus servus,

DONCASTER.

No. LXXXV.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO WILLIAM
NORREYS.

[State Papers. Germany.]

Memoriall for Mr. Norry.

[Salzburg, July [$\frac{13}{19}$, ?] 1619.]

To let them understand the effect of my Lord his negotiations with King Ferdinand, and therupon to intreate them to send Deputies to Francfurt furnished with sufficient authority to treat, and instructed: 1, with their apology to King Ferdinand his accusation consisting of their refusall to hearken to a peace upon his often letters and large offers: of their soliciting their neighbors his subjects to rebellion. 2dly, with a full information of such matter as

they are able to recriminate touching the breach of their priviledges or other reasons for their taking and continuing of armes. 3dly, with such modest conditions for the making of a peace as may render the King inexcusable if he refuse to grant them.

No. LXXXVI.

SIR ISAAC WAKE TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Savoy.]

[Turin, July $\frac{18}{25}$, 1619.]

RIGHT HONORABLE.

Since my last to your honour of the $\frac{1}{2}$ July, I have received a dispatch from the Prince Palatine, the copy whereof I send here inclosed, that you maye see thereby how earnestly he hath required mee to employ my credit with the Duke of Savoy, and to obtayne his effectual mediation with the Venetians, for the procuring such companies of Reisters as are at this present in Lombardy at the service of the State of Venice to be sent into Germany for the assistance of the Princes of the Union.

These Commissions are sumwhat scrupulous to a minister who doth not love *excedere fines mandati*, and, although at this present I have indeavored to give the Elector Palatine content, in regard that he doth write in the name of the Union of which bodye his Ma^{tie} is the head, yet hereafter both he and all the rest shall pardon mee if I do not obey theyr commandments, unlesse his Ma^{ty} do give mee a general order to execute such commissions as I shall receive from them. It is likely that they will have recourse unto mee very often for these services which they may require at my hands, considering that his Ma^{tie} hath no other minister on this side the mountaines, and therefore it wilbe necessary that your honour do let me know how farr I may employ myselfe to serve them, because until I heare from

you againe I wilnot adventure to execute theyr orders without first knowing his Ma^{ties} pleasure.

I must confesse I was not to trouble myselfe much in perswading the Duke of Savoy to imbrace this motion, for I did find him most ambitiously reddey to lay hould of any occasion wherein he might gratifie the Prince Palatine, and those other Princes of the Union, and that I might be a witnes of the reality of his proceedings he did send for the Venetian Ambassador and mee togeather to audience, and, after having acquainted the Ambassador with the state of the buisines in my presence, he did earnestly desyre him to represent unto his masters the interest they had in the conservation of the publike liberty, the advantage that would redound unto their state by fomenting a warre on the other side the mountaines against their professed enmye, and keeping the fyer from theyr owne howse; the meanes those Princes had to requite such a kindnes when any occasion should be presented unto them; the improbability that there was of being troubled with anye innovation in Lombardy, considering the modest disposition of the Duke of Feria, and the smal forces that remaine on foot in the State of Milan, the best part of which residue the Spaniards do pretend likewise to transport else where.

After the allegation of which reasons he did interpose his particular earnest request to have those Princes gratified for his sake, and did not onely offer to put the obligation of this favour to his owne account, but to oblige himselfe for the security of the Venetians during the absence of these troupes, and to furnish them within the space of 15 dayes with as much and as good cavalerie, if any occasion should require.

When the Duke of Savoy had passed this effectual office with the Ambassador of Venice he did earnestly require mee to make the like motion as from my selfe unto the sayde Ambassador, alleaging that the sight of my proposition would cleare a great doubt which some of those suspitious senators might conceive of his desyring those troupes in the name of the Princes of Germany for the better com-

passing some private designe of his owne in those parts, which the Venetians do not seeme much to favor.

I would willingly have excused my selfe, if with any honest courours I could have refused to make the same motion in my owne person which I had desyred the Duke of Savoy to make, and therefore to satisfie him therein; and, to let it appeare to the Prince Palatine that I have not been wanting to employ my selfe as farre as I was able to procure him contentment, I have by waye of letter to the Venetian Ambassador expressed the desire of the Princes of the Union without once spending the name of his Mat^{tie}, as by the copie here enclosed your Honour may be pleased to see.

I may not omit to let your Honour know that the Duke of Savoy did unto mee in private shewe himselfe so forward to gratifie the Princes of Germany in this lawful and honest request, that he did offer to paye this cavallerie out of his owne purse, in case the Venetians should excuse themselves uppon the great charge they are at in mainetayning their fleete at sea against the Duke of Ossuna; and to prevent the objection of their declaring themselves against the Spaniards or the howse of Austria, he hath offered likewise that if they will make a shew of dismissing those troupes, he wil inrole them as for his service, and bestowe them uppon mee, as he did the regiment of the Count of Mansfelt, that I may send them to the Prince Palatine, to bee employed where he shall thinke fitt for his owne or for the publique service. As soone as wee shal have an answer from Venice, which cannot bee yet these ten or fiveteene dayes, your Honour shalbe advertised with all speed of the successe of this negotiation, which I feare wil not bee to the satisfaction of the Princes of Germany.

In my last I did advise your Honour of a great alarme all our neighbors had taken uppon the occasion of a general muster which the Duke of Savoy had summoned to bee made of all the trayned souldiers on this side the hills, but he hath now suspended his proceeding therein for a time, and sent all the companies of horse and foot to their severall quarters.

This muster was intended principally (as I formerly advertised) to mortifie the violent humor of some factious persons in Mondovi who did countenance the banditi in those parts in all their outrageous excesses, and would not suffer the Justice to proceede against them. But the wiser sort have uppon better advise sent the Bishop of that cittie with commission to cast himselfe at the feete of the Duke of Savoy, and to demaund pardon for the folly of those wilful persons whose obstinacye had justly drawne the displeasure and indignation of this Prince against the whole city; uppon which humiliation and promise of future submitting themselves in obedience unto the lawes of the country and the pleasure of the Duke, their further persecution hath beene deferred, the Prince Cardinal having made himselfe a pledge and caution for their modest and sober behavior hereafter.

Signor Scaramuzza Visconti, who came from Milan hither (as hath been advertised) to informe the Duke of Feria aright of the intentions of the Duke of Savoy in that intended muster, having received very good assurance from this Prince that he had no purpose to make anie innovation, did immediately after his first audience dispatch a courier to Milan, and uppon the returne of his messenger, who arived here uppon $\frac{1}{2}$ of this month, being admitted to his second and last audience, he did formally, in the name of the King of Spaine, demande passage thorough Piedmont and Savoy for 2500 men which the Governor of Milan had order to send out of the State of Milan into the Lowe Countries.

The Duke of Savoy, finding himselfe surprised with so unexpected a motion, was somewhat troubled howe to make a satisfactorie answer thereunto. For he could not with honesty graunt it for feere it might prejudice his friends on the other side of the hills: whereuppon, after a ceremonious and complimental declaration of his readines to gratifie the King of Spaine and his Ministers in any thing that they might require at his hands, he tould the Ambassador that he needed not doubt of his realty in observing such capitulations as were stipulated betwixt the King of Spaine

and him, but that he did desire to know the precise number of these troupes that were to passe through his State, the time when they did intend to march, and the order which they would observe in their passage, and that before they should depart out of the State of Milan he might have time sufficient to give warning thereof unto such others of his frends and allyes as have terrytories confining with his State, as namely, the French King, the State of Berne, and the city of Geneva: with this answer the Ambassador is departed to Milan, and wee expect dayly to heare from him againe, and to receave a second summons for the passage of these souldiers.

The Duke of Savoy would willingly perswade himselfe that this office hath been passed *per modum tentationis*, and the Duke of Feria doth not really intend the transportation of these troupes, but that his purpose was to make trial whether this Prince would refuse the passage in case the King of Spaine should have occasion to require it, that so upon his denial the Spaniards might take unto themselves a colour of quarreling with him for breaking the covenantes unto which he was bound, or upon his granting the passage they might calumniate him to the Princes of Germany as partial against them, and so weaken that good correspondence which is betwixt him and those princes at this present. He doth ground this conjecture upon two contrarieties which this motion doth seeme to include, whereof the first is that it cannot stand with reason that the Spaniards should send any forces out of the State of Milan at this time when they designe to drawe downe the most part of the army of Naples into Lombardie, as he is advertised that they intend to do; the second is that there cannot bee any appearance of their intending to send these forces into the Lowe Countreyes, considering that they do treat the prorogation or perpetuation of that truce or peace.

But I do doubt for my part that they do intend in good earnest to transport a good strength of souldiers to the other side of the mountaines, and that their purpose is to make these forces coun-

tenance and make way for the incoronation of Ferdinand at Francfort, in case the Protestant Princes should make any difficulty to accept him in the Electoral College before the troubles of Bohemia bee accommodated. For it is confidently advertised that he is resolved to passe to Francfort, and to take to himselfe the Imperial Crowne in virtu of his owne voice and the suffrages of the Ecclesiasticall Electors, wherein if he should meete with any contestation it would be hard for him to carry the businesse *a haulte lutte* unlesse he have an army neere; and, because it is not likely that he will weaken his army in Bohemia by causing any of those troupes to march so farr backwards, nor that the Archduke will suffer the army that he doth mainetaine about Wesel to passe so farr upp into Germany, it may be, with probability enough, concluded that these forces, which are idle in the State of Milan, may be employed to assure his coronation.

I have dispatched a gentleman in great dilligence to Heidelberg expresly to warne the Prince Palatine of this designe, and I presume his Highness will not be wanting to send this dispatch with all speed to your Honour. For if the Governour of Milan do presse this motion againe, I shalbe able to prevaile with the Duke of Savoy so farr as to procure him to suspend his definitive answers fifteen dayes, and when the troupes shal beginn to march they cannot traverse Piedmont and Savoy in lesse then twenty dayes; so that, if I can understand his Ma^{ties} pleasure within the space of a month, it wilbe possible to make a staye of this army in case his Ma^{tie} shall require it. The Duke of Savoy of himselfe is willing enough to hinder theyr passage if he might be sure of a good support, but the Venetians wilnot assist him therein, considering that they desire nothing more than to have Lombary discharged of the souldiers that remayne, and of himselfe he hath not the meanes to oppose himselfe against the King of Spaine, neither wil reason of state permit him to draw a new warre uppon himselfe to pleasure other Princes unto whome he hath no manner of obligation.

If, therefore, the Princes of Germany and the States of the United Provinces do doubt that these forces may turne to their prejudice, it wilbe necessarie for them to declare themselves first, and when they shal desire this Prince to assist them they must supplye him with meanes that may inable him so to do; for, although his will be very good, yet he hath not power sufficient to resist the Spaniards if they should uppon this occasion set uppon him anewe.

So humblye desyring your Honour to let me know his Ma^{ties} pleasure in sufficient time, I take leave, and rest

Your Honour's most faithfully to command,

ISAAC WAKE.^a

Turin, $\frac{1}{2} \frac{8}{8}$ of July, 1619.

[*Indorsed in Naunton's hand*].—18 Julii, 1619, Sir Isaac Wake to mee; sent by the way of Heidelberg, but delayed tyll this 23. of the same, a full weeke, and came after his last packet of the 26, which I sent you upon Sunday was a sevenight.

It seemes this packet stayd with the Prince Palatin where he is.

It stayd allmost a weeke at Calis for a wind.

The Prince Palatine's letter to him.

His proposition to the Venetian Ambassador.

^a On the 26th of July Wake wrote again to Naunton the letter referred to in the indorsement. He says that it is almost a fortnight since the return of the Duke of Feria's Ambassador to Milan, and that "this letting runne so many dayes without further pressing that motion which Signor Visconti at his beeing here did sett on foot with extraordinary heate, doth confirme the Duke of Savoy in his former opinion that the Governor of Milan did never really intend any such thing." Wake proceeds, however, to say that he doubts this, as he hears "that in the State of Milan they do levye men apace, and that the last weeke there hath been remitted thither from Genoa the sum of 150^m crownes."

Received by
Quester this
23 of August.
It came by the
way of Ant-
werp.

No. LXXXVII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Hanaw, July 24, 1619.
August 3,

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Though for no other cause, yet for this, that you may give his Ma^{ty} an auditt of the time I have spent since Mr. Peter Killigrewes dispatche, I cannot suffer this ordinary to goe without my letters.

It cost me seven dayes, at twelve houres travelling the day, to reach from Saltzburg to Norimberg. There understanding that I was gotten before King Ferdinand and the Spanish Ambassador, (who, in respect of the strange unseasonable raynes we had here without intermission three weekes together, tooke more liberty then I durst to make easy journeys), I resolved to send the greatest part of my trayne directly to Hanaw, where, by the Prince Elector Palatine's favor and Monsieur de Plessen his care, I am well lodged during the time of the election. My selfe with the Lordes and Knights only that honor me with their company went a dayes journey about by Heydelberg, that I might acquaint that Prince with the answere King Ferdinand had given me, and receyve his Highnes' commandements before my going to Francfurt.

The Marquis of Ansbach lay now just in my way, whom I therefore thought it my duty to visit one night for the delivery of his Majesties letters and receyving his Highnes' advise. He enter-tayned me very princely, and, unles I would ungratefully conceale truth, I must beare record that he is extreemly his Ma^{ties} servant, and well worth the cherishing, being a brave, noble, active prince, as the Spanish regiments would have felt in their passage from Archduke Albert to King Ferdinand, if all the Union had beene of his spirit.

And now that I have done him right, I may not wrong the Archbyshop of Wirtzburg by passing over in silence the noble entertaynment he had provided to have given me, not knowing of

Marquis of
Anspach.

my diversion till the day before: which I have the more reason to marke and mention because it is the first respect I have found from any ecclesiasticall person since I came into this country.

Betweene Ansbach and Heydelberg I did by meere chance meete your letters of the 28th of June, and for my owne future discharge upon this warrant I am bound now to tell you that the hast you used in their dispatche hath made you forget to signe them, as well as I did to date those they answer; I was not so glad at first of this recontre, as I was sorry afterwards when I saw it would put me to a necessity of equivocating at Heydelberg in saying that I had as yet receyved no answer to the Princes of the Union their letters. For that which you give me I take to be for my privat information and instruction, since you doe not require me to represent it to their Highnesses or any of them, as not imagining it would have found me in so fitt a place. And though you had done so, yet I know not whether I should not have taken the boldnes to conceale it till a more proper time. For yf King Ferdinand can be perswaded now at Francfurt to yield to a cessation of armes and treaty in respect to our master's entermise, his Ma^{ty} will have meanes to give the Princes of the Union a more contenting answer, and then I will represent unto them those exceptions his Ma^{ty} taketh to their demande, and rectify their understanding of the termes of the league if they doe mistake it. And if no peace can be gotten of King Ferdinand, then, seeing his Ma^{ty} persisteth in his resolution to ayde those of his owne profession, and hath by you renewed my commission to declare as much, his Ma^{ty} may then kill two birdes with one bolt, and lay a double obligation on the Princes of the Union by sending assistance to the Bohemians thorough their handes. So that in both cases I thinke it best to suppress the answer you have made me for a time. Besides that, under correction, I thinke that the Princes may justly, and I am sure they doe, expect his Ma^{ties} resolution to be signified in a letter immediately to themselves. Wherein I desire, and most earnestly intreate your care, that there may be no notice taken of any thoughtes they may

This seemes to have bene the duplicate I sent after by the ordinarie, and that which I sent first by Cooke (which I am sure I signed) may be miscaried.

This is particularly intimated to them by his Ma^{ties} owne lettres which he wrot unto those Princes, and I sent away by Mr. Williams.

This is done, as the copies of his Ma^{ties} lettres to the Princes of the Union were after sent to his Lordship by Mr. Killigrew.

have had to proceede further then to their owne defence; because they have neither expressed more in their letters, nor meant, unles they were strongly invited by manifest occasion, which is all I did intimate in my letters to his Ma^{ty}, and therefore the justice of their request cannot be avoyded upon that poynt. The Prince Elector Palatine and his brother, Prince Lodowick, are already gone to the army the 19th of this moneth, and had done the day before but for my comming to Heydelberg; whère I found the same Ambassador of King Ferdinandes who neglected to visit me at Brusselles, and withall that change of place hath not changed his manners, if that be the cause of his *bestise* toward me. I call him still Ambassador for his Ma^{ty}, or I have beene much misinformed of the quality of his employment at Brusselles, and, his brother being a Prince, advanced to that dignity by the Emperor Rudolphe for changing his religion, I am almost confident I am in the right, but would not have troubled his Ma^{ty} with him agayne if I could have escaped it. The Secretary of Comte d'Oniat had beene also at Heydelberg a few dayes before, and delivered letters from the King of Spayne. The errand of them both was to intreate that Prince to be present at the Electorall Diett in person, which his Highnes excused upon the necessity of his going to secure the Upper Palatinate, and hath therefore only sent his Ambassadors, as the Duke of Saxony and the Marquis of Brandenburg have done likewise. What hath passed at the Diett, or rather the reason why nothing hath yet passed, I have prayed Monsieur de Plessen (who did me the favor to come yesterday to informe me) to make a relation from himselfe, because it would have come to you with losse through my hand.

I have received
nothing from
M. de Plessen
yet. I suppose
he writes to Mr.
T. Murrey.

On Sunday the 18th of this moneth, being the day that King Ferdinand entered into Francfurt, there happened to be a little tumult in that citty, which, because it may be growne greater by the way, I hold it my duty to acquaint you with. Some forty of the Archbishop of Mayence his servants, and as many of the Archbishop of Cologne's, well mounted, pretending to goe forth out of

the towne, whether to meete and conduct the Kinge in, or upon what other occasion soever (for of divers reported that is the most probable), made a stande in the porte in such a fashion as gave suspicion that they intended to force the guard. Wherupon being commanded by the souldiers to retire, and refusing to obey, they came to a contestation of wordes, and one of the Bishop of Cologne his men speaking rougher then his fellowes, and, as many say, offering to discharge his pistoll, was stroken into the belly with a partisan, and dyed upon the place; the rest were conducted to their lodgings by the soldiers, and threatened at every halte. The Bishoppes themselves were in a bodily feare, but there was no more harme done. The King came in peaceably, with as little shew of royalty as he still appeares in there; yet is he sure to be Emperor, for, though the Infanta of Bruxelles be ambitious to vayne her selfe with the Imperiall Crowne against her widowhood, and hath wrought so farre upon the Archduke that he would not refuse it if he were elected (wherof they say there is assurance), yet that house will not be divided against it selfe.

The Spanish Ambassador came hither upon the 23th of this moneth, three dayes after me. He demanded by a currier to have beene admitted into the citty, but, being refused, is lodged by the Bishop of Mayence about a Dutch mile off. I sent to him yesterday, to-morrow am to visit him, and shall then presse him home to use the authority I know his master hath over King Ferdinand. As soone as I can see day thorough this adjournment I will speedily advertise his Ma^{ty} by an expresse.

From the felde, all the newes wee heare is that the armyes are both ill payd, and full of sicknes. The Comte of Buquoy hath of late made an inrode into Austria, and committed as much outrage there as he had before in Bohemia. If the 700 Hungars were only guilty of the cruelty he charged on them, the hand of vengeance hath already overtaken them; for, being called home, the Comte of Bucquoy, whether suspecting they would revolt or for what other cause is not knowne, sett upon them as they were marching away,

and hath killed to the number of 300 of them. The Comte of Dampiere hath beene also troubled with the mutining of his Hungars, wherupon after wordes proceeding to strike one of their commanders he had a blow with a Hungarian masse returned him, which they say hath well nigh broken his backe.

I send you the minute of what I wrote according to my instructions from his Matie. His Maties letters may beare date since the Emperor died, but yet not since the notice of it could come to him; or the date may be altered in one of the blankes. Sure I am I have kept my instruction. Mr. Read there may shewe you his copie of the Latin letter if you shall need it. Of this point I have written his Maties own direction to Sir James Wake, which I received from his Maty at Theobaldes.

The Bohemians are here assured to be in better state then was figured unto me in the partes from whence I am come. The gentleman I sent to them is not yet returned. They have sent an ill choyce of Ambassadors to Francfurt to protest against King Ferdinand, and maintayne their privileges. But it is yet in dispute whether they shall be admitted or not, as I assure my selfe Mons^r de Plessen hath particularly related.

The defence you furnish me withall for the convenience of his Maties letters to them cannot be mayntayned, because they beare date after the Emperor's death; and therefore if you thinke fitt it may please yow to propound it once agayne to his Maties consideration.

Sir Isak Wake hath let me understand of the Duke of Savoy his refusall to reenforce Count Mansfelt's regiments unles he be required by the Kings Matie, and as a vigilant and a carefull minister hath offered, if I found it necessary for the publique service, to endeavor to passe that office upon my letter. But I dare not presume to give him any such warrant, and thinke the King our master himself can not yet resolve what answere to make till the owne time.

I have acquainted her Highnes with the retardment of his Maties resolution concerning my servant Nethersole. She protesteth that if his Maty have seene any such letter of her writing in favor of Mr. Elfiston it is forged, and hath commanded me to pray you to solicit his Maty for the searching out of that practice, as concerning both her honor and service. Let me adde my owne earnest request that you would doe it speedily, for the reason I have already given his Maty and you.

I send you here inclosed the Duke of Saxony his letter to me, that his Maty may see his Highnes is well satisfied with my absence;

having otherwise little reason to bragg of the honor he hath therein done me, writing himselfe, and to me, in the same stile he would have done to his meanest vassall, which for the person I sustayne I doe a little resent. Sir, I see I cannot part with you; but to deliver you of my importunity, after I have made my dew prayer for his Ma^{ty}, I will take leave for this time, and rest ever

Your most affectionate and faythfull friend and servant,

DONCASTER.

Hanaw, 24th July, 1619.

No. LXXXVIII.

THE BARON MEGGAU TO VISCOUNT DONCASTER.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Francfort, ^{July 26}
Aug. 5, 1619.]

ECCELL^{mo} Sig^r.

Subito che mi capito la gratissima di V. E. feci l'effetto ch'ella mi commandava con la M^{ia} del Ré mio Signor, la quale sicome ha gradita sommamente la buona volonta di V. E. cosi ha resolutto di mandare un suo cavaliero della cammera ad abboccare seco. E poiche dal dette Signor sentira ella tutte quelle occorre di piu, resto de soggiungere altro con questa, salvo che per quelle tocca la scrittura ^a che V. E. desidera, quella sta ponendose assieme, e tosto che sia compita se le manderà. Fra tanto, con baciare V. E. le mano, le bramo dal Cielo compita felicità.

De V. S. Eccell. Humeliss. et aff^{mo}

LEONARDO ELFRIDO B. DE MEGGAU.

De Francfortt, le 5 Ag^o. 1619.

TRANSLATION.

As soon as I received your Excellency's letter, I made application, according to your request, to His Majesty the King my master. He accepted with great pleasure the assurances of your Excellency's good will, and has resolved to send one of the gentlemen of his chamber to treat with you. As you will hear from him every thing that remains to be said, I have only to add that the writing for which your Excellency asks is being put together, and that it will be sent to you as soon as it is finished. In the meanwhile, kissing your Excellency's hands, I pray heaven to grant you perfect felicity.

Your Excellency's most humble and affectionate

LEONHARD HELFRIED BARON OF MEGGAU.

Francfort, Aug. 5, 1619.

No. LXXXIX.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO THE COUNT OF OÑATE.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Hanau, ^{July 31,}
August 10, ? 1619.]

MONSIEUR,

Vostre Excellence me pardonnera s'il luy plaist si je vous importune par ce mot de lettre de me faire sçavoir par ce porteur si vous aves retire du Roy Ferdinand la resolution de sa Ma^{te} touchant la proposition que je vous feis lors que j'eü l'honneur de vous voir chez vous, ayant trouvé un si grand contentement en vostre entretien qu'il me faict le desirer avec impatience, estant d'ailleurs il me semble à blasmer de laisser passer tant de temps sans faire rien pour le service de sa Ma^{te} Catholique, et pour me descharger des commandemens de mon Maistre. Je m'en iray en poste vous trouver demain ou apres demain selon que vous me donneres l'assignation, et vous tesmoigne-

ray que je suis, Mons^r, de vostre Excellence tres humble et tres affectionné serviteur.

De Hanaw le dernier
d'Aout,^a 1619.

No. XC.

ANSWER GIVEN TO VISCOUNT DONCASTER BY BARON TRAUTMANNSDORF ON BEHALF OF FERDINAND II. KING OF HUNGARY, &c.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Frankfort, August 3^o, 1619.]

SERENISSIMUS Hungariæ et Bohemiæ Rex, Dominus meus clementissimus, quemadmodum Serenissimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis optimam et propensissimam in concilianda pace Bohemica voluntatem grato animo interpretatur, ita præclarum istud studium quod Regiæ illius bonitati et prudentiæ adscribit, modis omnibus et quacunque se offerente occasione vicissim promereri non intermittet.

Etsi vero Majestas sua Regi discussionem prætensorum gravaminum Bohemicorum et eorum quæ inde subsecuta sunt jampridem quatuor Principum interpositorum arbitrio permiserit, unde nequam sibi abscedendum judicat, nihilominus tamen (citra prejudicium verbi illius Regii jam dati) oblatum a Serenissimo Rege Magnæ Britanniæ interpositionis studium sincera illa voluntate et candore quo ipsi offertur libentissime acceptat, sua ex parte curatura uti negotium hoc ita dirigatur, quo debitus interpositionis tractatui locus detur, atque eidem Serenissimo Regi totique mundo quanti pacem et tranquillitatem publicam æstimet exinde constare possit.

Cum vero hactenus Serenissimo Regi meo nulla per Bohemos pacis conditiones sint oblatae, exercitus utrinque validus et numerosus in Regnum Bohemiæ penetraverit, qui indies etiam augeatur, adeoque

^a This is an evident mistake. Doncaster was not at Hanau on August 31, and Ferdinand had become Emperor. The letter must be the one referred to in the despatch of August 17.

nullam pacis securitatem Serenissimus Rex meus habeat, ipsimet Domino oratori pro singulari prudentia sua perpendendum relinquit, quo pacto Majestas sua in propositam armorum suspensionem pro hac vice condescendere queat.

Cæteroquin habet Majestas sua Regia causas gravissimas, habet media per Dei gratiam sufficientia quibus subditorum suorum Bohemorum rebellionem debita in auctores pœna statuta compescat, respectu tamen interpositionis Serenissimi Regis Magnæ Britanniæ et pro singulari clementia Augustæ Domui Austriacæ innata pacem Regno Bohemiæ justis et rationi consentaneis conditionibus restituere parata est, eumque in finem non gravatim intelligat quæ a Domino oratore Serenissimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis circa eandem ipsi proponuntur idque cum interventione Domini oratoris Hispanici. Postulat enim, præter singularem fiduciam sanguinis et necessitudinis vinculum quo Serenissimo Regi Hispaniarum Catholico Serenissimus Rex meus conjunctus est, ut omnia quæ ad ejusdem domus conservationem pertinent cum amica et sincera illius interventione tractentur.

No. XCI.

MEMOIR DELIVERED TO VISCOUNT DONCASTER ON BEHALF OF
FERDINAND II. KING OF HUNGARY, &c.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Received August 13, 1619.]

COMPENDIOSA narratio eorum quæ ab obitu gloriosissimi Imperatoris Matthiæ inter Serenissimum Regem Ferdinandum 2^m in Regno Boemiæ legitimum successorem et rebellantes ibidem subditos acciderunt.

Posteaquam Divinæ voluntati invictissimum ac gloriosissimum Principem, Regem et Imperatorem Matthiam vigesima die mensis Martii anni præsentis millesimi sexcentissimi decimi noni ex hac ærumnosa vita ad alteram longè beatissimam evocare visum; et a tali obitu nihil mediante, ut nonnullæ aliæ terræ ac regna, ita etiam inclytum regnum Boemiæ cum annexis provinciis ad Serenissimum

et Potentissimum Principem Ferdinandum 2^m Hungariæ et Bohemiæ Regem, tanquam in publicis Regni Comitibus die 7 Junii anni 1617 unanimi ordinum voto et consensu in Regem receptum declaratum et pronunciatum, et eodem mense die 29^a ritu solenni unctum et coronatum, cui etiam dicti ordines sacramento consueto fidelitatis et subjectionis sese obstrinxerunt, pleno jure devolutum fuit: Regia sua Ma^{tas} eæ primo omnium curæ sibi habuit quæ in tam subita rerum permutatione omnium maximè necessaria esse judicaverat. Et quia jampridem magno tenebatur desiderio juvandi dictum Regnum Bohemiæ ab aliquo tempore gravissimis belli incommodis obnoxium: nulla mora interposita huic operi manum admovit. Literas ad Regni Vicarios a Divo Imperatore Matthia huic muneri adhuc præfixos^a mox 21^a Martii dedit; quibus imprimis luctuosam mortem Cæsaris et Regis eorum nunciavit: eos præterea in officio, ad id tempus donec aliter de rebus omnibus disponat, confirmavit; tertio sese declarat intra præscriptum tempus quatuor hebdomadarum se vigore reversalium suarum Statibus daturum, confirmationem authenticam privilegiorum Regni ad manus supremi Burggravii transmissurum, seduloque curaturum ut afflicto Regno pristina quies et tranquillitas restituatur, et inter regnicolas cuncta ex jure et æquo agantur, quemadmodum tam prætactis literis, quam reversalibus plenius hæc omnia continentur. Atque, ut Rex subditos memorabili exemplo præiret, eisque viam restaurandæ paci commonstraret, inter aliâ primum etiam hoc fuit quod tùm in Boemia tùm in Austria de armis cohibendis et suspendendis expressum mandatum dedit; Hungarique ex castris reversi sunt. Et de hoc ipso Bohemos cum spe indubitata idem ut illos facturos certiores reddi jussit, et seorsum etiam eorum militiæ Præfecti per Comitem Bucquoi hujus commonefacti sunt: a quibus autem hoc solùm responsi accepit, se de suspendendis armis a Directoribus suis nihil in mandatis habere. Exinde certè pacem ipsis magis odio quàm amori esse manifestè colligi potuit; quod et re ipsa comprobantur quando, paucis diebus

^a Those of the ten members of the Regency who still remained at Prague.

post, militem Regium pro advehendo comeatu omissum, nihil hostilitatis vel suspicantem vel metuentem adorti, cæsisque aliquot illorum, ipsis omnem comeatum ademerunt. Cùm vice versa Rex pacis cupidissimus omninò sibi persuasum habebat, seditiosos mutato Regni statu consilia quoque sua mutaturos, Majestati suæ a qua nunquam læsi, debita fidelitatis et obsequiorum officia præstituros, et tranquillitatis atque reconciliationis recuperandæ et obtinendæ optimam sibi oblatam occasionem amplexuros. Verùm his omnibus frustratus est. Nam postquam feria 2^{da} Paschæ^a præfecti Regni Vicarii Regias illas literas hominibus nomen Directorum prætendentibus communicarunt, illi primo paucitate sua, postea gravitate rei, quo minùs tam citò respondere possint, sese excusarunt; primo quoquo die se tamen negocium ponderaturos et responsum daturus esse polliciti sunt, quod ne quidem in hanc usque horam factum est.

Hoc tamen non obstante, Rex promissis suis in reversalibus factis stetit, et maturè confirmationem privilegiorum et immunitatum Regni in omnibus verbis punctis et clausulis Cæsaris Matthiæ confirmationi conformem, et quidem duplicatam, si forte alteram harum per quempiam intercipi contingeret, supremo Burggravio, unaque obsignatas credentiales ad omnes eo tempore Pragæ ex Ordinibus congregatos transmisit; quibus Rex muneri suo satisfactum esse attestatus, atque ut et ipsi fidei suæ datæ memores esse velint, eos adhortatus est. Sed tanta fuit hominum istorum circa Regem proprium irreverentia, quod literas ad ipsos exaratas acceptare recusaverint, hanc nempe ob causam quod ipsis titulus inquit [*sic*] Directorum et partis sub utraque communicantis non fuerit attributus. Cùm tamen Directorum nomen nunquam legitime assecuti nec etiam ab Imperatore Matthia tales compellati fuerunt, cujus nihilominus literis quia eas acceptarent ad illasque responderent nunquam contradixerunt; multo minus etiam literæ ad illos solos dirigi poterant, siquidem privilegia quorum confirmatio transmissa fuit omnes et universos ordines tùm sub unaquàm sub utraque concernebant. Remissis itaque literis, intereà

^a Easter Monday.

publicis suis decretis totum Regnum in armis esse jubent et cogunt, simulque exactionibus tantis et tam gravibus onerant, quales a memoria hominum nullus Regum vel petere ausus fuit, Regem etiam apud Electores seculares in odium suis inducere nituntur literis; tùm quòd priores de novo constituerit Vicarios, tùm quòd militem ex Regno non educat sed augeat; et affingunt præterea, imò falsò asserunt quasi sibi gubernationem Regni non adimpletis requisitis vendicet. His tamen omnibus, quæ ipsi optimè perspecta fuere, Rex minimè commotus, Vicarios de urgendo responso literarum promisso admonet; ad quod iterum nihil secutum est. Quin potius dum inani spe responsi dandi Regem lactant, et omnes seditiones suas fovendi et proseguendi vias, de quibus Regi optimè constitit, inquirant. Sed nec adhuc Regia Sua Matris eò adduci potuit, ut quicquam de innata sua clementia remitteret: imò spretis iis omnibus quæ in contemptum sui scribi et fieri vidit et scivit, denuò literis ad Bohemos datis, amorem suum erga Regnum et omnes regnicolas verè paternum contestatus, eosque benignissimè adhortatus est ut ad sedandos istos motus, vel, felici principii saltem faciendi causa, aliquos de suo numero (securitatem accedendi et recedendi ipsis verbo Regis promittendo) ad aulam suæ Matris mittere nec in mora esse vellent; fore enim, quod res hæc Regno et ipsismet magnum sit commodum allatura. Verum neque hoc apud illos locum habuit, et quod magis ne responso quidem vel ad hæc vel ad priora omnia Regem hucusque dignati sunt.

Dum hæc ita aguntur Bohemi militem suum domi collectum et coactum lustrant, et in circulos distribuunt.

Comes Henricus Mathæus de Turri, adducto secum partim conscripto, partim domestico milite, Moraviam ingressus, ibi, quod multoties antea a Bohemis tam per literas quàm per ablegatos quaesitum et sollicitatum est, Moravos contra Regem stimulavit, et ut se illis conjungerent, omnibusque modis ursit et institit, idque effecit quod nonnulli ad seditionem proniores, debitæ erga Regem suum observantiæ et legum immemores, præsidio mille equitum

ad Marchionatum Moraviæ defendendum nequaquam verò^a tumultum concitandum collectorum et juramento obstrictorum cincti, civitatem Regiam Brunam alteram post Metropolim, ubi dum propter conventum indictum Ordines frequentes convenerant, ex inopinato vi adorti, et occupatis portis extorsisque civitatis clavibus in potestatem suam redegerunt. Neque hoc contenti mox capitaneum Marchionis locum et vices gerentem, et alios primarios Marchionatus illius procures et officiales, Regiæ suæ M^{tis} fideles ministros, nullo habito respectu Religionis in ædes illorum irruentes, verbis et minis indignè tractârunt: personas Religiosas cum scitu Statuum ante plurimos annos in provinciam introductos nullo allegato causæ exemplo Bohemorum exterminârunt et proscripserunt, eorumque bona sibi mendicârunt: templa parochialia, de quibus nulla unquam lis vel controversia fuit, et in quæ nullum prorsus jus ipsis competit, primò ibidem Brunæ postea Olomucii civitate metropoli ausu novo et temerario occupârunt: cives in officio senatorio nomine Regis positos removerunt; monasteria et eorum religiosos, aliosque ecclesiasticos omnibus modis divexârunt: Directores administrando toti Marchionatui, jus et potestatem legitimo Marchioni et Domino suo adimendo, ad instar Bohemorum præfecerunt: et multis aliis in rebus scriptis et factis suis ita se gesserunt, tametsi omnia ipsis licerent, nullique vel superiori vel Regi subiecti essent.

Hæc præfatus Comes de Turri mox Directoribus suis Bohemicis magno cum applausu perscripsit, et se tantorum ac tam præclarorum facinorum authorem jactitavit. Eisdem vero etiam in Austria successum et eventus sibi pollicendo primò civitatem Laa proximæ Moraviæ ipsum admittere nolentem obsedit; et, licet vix manipulus de milite Regio eo positus fuerat, nihil tamen aliquot dierum spacio cum abductis copiis suis efficere potuit.

Tandem Rex, civium ibidem et aliarum hoc jure interpositarum precum intuitu, paucos suos milites inde educi et loco illorum

^a There seems to be something omitted here.

Austriacorum militem cui nihil tamen negotii cum Bohemis esse deberet intromitti consensit.

Post hæc ejusdem Comititis de Turri audacia et temeritas eo usque excrevit quòd Viennam versus, quæ urbs contra hostem Christiani nominis præcipuum propugnaculum, cum copiis suis processerit; ibidemque Danubio trajecto in suburbiis militem collocaverit. Illuc vero suam haud dubiè et consilio sociorum et confæderatorum suorum statim atque provenit, non obscure constat, eum sibi indubitatum in urbem ingressum fuisse pollicitum, eamque spem Directoribus suis fecisse, quæ illos tamen omnes fefellit. Ubi itaque technas suas detectas esse, eaque quæ in animo habebat minimè ex voto suo succedere velle cognovit, tentavit quidem quæ potuit, militem suum ostentandi causa a longè conspiciendum in campum produxit, posteaque aliquot dierum spacio ibidem in suburbiis detinuit et diligenter excubias habuit: globos etiam non solum ad mœnia, sed et arcem, usque ad locum residentiae eo tempore Regiæ emittendo, liberum ex urbe exitum et in eam ingressum impediendo, homines rebus suis spoliando, et quam plurima alia mala perpetrando nihil hostilitatis prætermisit: postremò tamen, magna offensorum hominum cum quærimonia, eadem via quæ inconsiderate venit contumeliose reversus est. Fecerunt interea Directores Bohemici bona omnia monasteriorum scripto publico in Bohemia venalia; ex ipsis nonnulla vendiderunt. Indixerunt etiam conventum generalem ut Bohemis ita etiam omnibus adjunctis Provinciis. Ad quem magno numero postquam convenerunt, quid pro vero amore patriæ, pro pace publica, pro fide Regi et Domino suo retinenda et non violanda, quid denique boni egerint tractaverint et concluderint, imprimis verò et ante omnia an solo (ut populo persuadere nitantur) Religionis amore ad hos toti Reipublicæ Christianæ conatus adeo perniciosos devenerint, ex consilio illorum tam privatis quàm publicis et eorum effectu facile innotescet. Hoc saltem inter alia inde emanasse comperimus quod Regem et Dominum suum ritè unctum et coronatum et ad omnia jura Electoralia exercenda a Divo quondam Imperatore Matthia plenè investitum, ac proinde

jure optimo et invincibili ad præsentem Regis Romanorum Electionem a Domino Electore Moguntino Francofordum citatum et accersitum, a voce et voto Electionis (quod tamen minimè in illorum potestate situm est) excludere velle præsumant, et tàm facto quàm scripto suo limites debitæ modestiæ et fidelitatis excedant.

Rex vero his omnibus non attentus, etsi militem suum, cùm secus facere non possit, ad bonos tuendos et malos coercendos in campum eductum habeat, publicis tamen suis postremò editis mandatis, omnibus iis qui se fideles et obedientes subditos profitebantur gratiam et clementiam suam offert et pollicetur, in eoque proposito firmitè etiamnum perseverat.

No. XCII.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Hanau, August 7th, 1619.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

In my last of the 24th of July I mentioned my purpose to visit the Spanish Ambassador, which I did accordingly upon Munday the 26th, having advertised him of my comming two dayes before-hand, not out of respect only, but to give him that time both to conferre with King Ferdinand and advise with his owne instructions how to yelde the King my master the best satisfaction. And, because I consider him as a person of more principall regard to me then King Ferdinand himselfe, I thinke it my duty, for his Maties cleerer information, not only to relate the effect of the passage betweene us, but to marke out all the severall stepps.

I skipp over all ceremony, though if I had any malicious affection I have good occasion to insist on some parte thereof. That done, I could not thinke of any fitter entrance into discourse with him then by making a briefe relation of that which had passed both betweene King Ferdinand himselfe and betweene his counsellor

and me at Saltzburg; whereunto I added this in conclusion, that I should have beene very ill satisfied with the answer I there receyved if I had not in the end gotten a reason why it was no better, which was the absence of the Comte d'Oniate. And there I left to see what he would say of it, expecting that he would have gone about to excuse, but not as he did to maintayne so fading a colour as the pretence of a former reference to the four Princes of the Empire heeretofore named; which, notwithstanding he thought to have made hold by taking upon him to know that all those Princes, and particularly the Prince Elector Palatine, had embraced the motion with much signification of willingnes to undertake the worke, I could have opposed my more certayne knowledge of that Prince his unwillingness to be so unequally yoked.

But I had a readier way to beate him of this ground, by demanding why my master's intervention had beene so earnestly intreated by his master, if it could not now be accepted? with which downright question he was not a little staggered, but in the end recovered this weake footing, that those princes being all of so greate power in the Empire, and three of them Electors, King Ferdinand had at this time especiall reason to be carefull not to discontent them, but that my master's interposition should be also admitted, and that his Ma^{tie}, being both in his state and person in so high a degree above them, would have all the glory of the peace when it was made, though they had their part of travell in the making.

It had bene easy for me to have made him confesse that, since my master had not only assented to the King of Spaines request, but designed me to this employment with strict commandement to use all diligence in the journey, a full moneth before the late Emperor's death, his Ma^{tie} had not beene much beholding to King Ferdinand for being so hasty to putt himselfe into these Princes' handes before my comming, and less to Comte d'Oniati for having never advertised this into England. But I had no mind to put him thus hard to it, and therefore only desired to knowe what I

had then at the present to doe heere for the King of Spaines service. In answer wherunto he had it seemes a minde to give me worke inough, entring into a deepe discourse that the peace would easily be concluded if three things were done before hand. First, if the Evangeliques could be perswaded to believe that the King his master had no other dessein upon the Empire then the seeking of the peace therof. Secondly, if the misunderstandings and exacerbations betweene the Ecclesiasticall and Evangelicall Princes (for so he termed them) could be rectified and mitigated. Lastly, if there were an Emperour chosen as a head to keepe all the partes of this great body in order. I had no disposition to follow him farre in this wilde felde, which I saw tended but to come to a new pretext to delay me; and therefore, to bring him soone backe, sayd only, that I quite contrary was of opinion that while his master's forces and the warre continued in Bohemia it was impossible to effect his two former propositions, and unseasonable to goe about the later, as I thought all uninterested lookers on judged now, and I feared King Ferdinand and his friendes would finde hereafter, with repentance for having dearly purchased the wearing of the Imperiall Crowne a few moneths sooner, with God knew how many years after-trouble at the cheapest. He would have maintained this latter of his propositions by shewing that the making of a peace would require a great length of time; that the Election could not be deferred without violation of the *Bulla Aurea*; that if there were once a breach made in that, being the foundation of all order in the Empire, nothing but universall confusion could ensue. But I interrupted him, telling him there were many examples to the contrary, and one of so fresh memory as that of Charles the Vth, the most glorious Emperour of the House of Austria; but that this dispute belonged to the Electors; and that for me, seeing he wisely foresaw the making of a peace would cost so much time, I had reason to spende as litle as might be idly, and therefore prayed him without speeche of attending the issue of the Election (wherewith I had nothing to doe) to procure me an

answere the soonest was possible;^a which (since King Ferdinand had made him his oracle, and subsisted meerely by his master's forces, which the Ambassador confessed were in his handes to dispose of,) I made no doubt it would be such as might give satisfaction to his maister's best friende.

And then, upon his request to be informed what it was that I would require, I made this demande; to have in the first place assurance of a present cessation of armes, upon usuall and reasonable conditions, and then of a treaty to ensue, with persons, time, and place appoynted for it. These appeared to be all poyntes of hard digestion, especially that of the cessation, for he chewed long upon it with confessed distast, in respect of the present advantages he sayd King Ferdinand now had gotten, and by that meanes should loose the fruite of. But in the end he putt it over roundely, with this corrective, that when the Election was past, upon condition that King Ferdinand might enjoy his kingdom in the same manner that his predecessors had done before him, he would undertake his Ma^{ty} should condescend not only to a cessation from all acts of hostility, but to a licentiating of the army. This I could take to be no other then a faire bayte to make me swallow the Election. But to make my best profit of it, I asked what assurance I should be able to give the Bohemians of this franke offer. He offered, first, his owne word in the name of his master, then Archduke Albert's, and at last would have beene promising for our master too. But I thought it unsafe to have his Ma^{ty} stand engaged without better security of being borne harmles, and therefore, withdrawing his Ma^{ty}s name as having no commission to use it, I desired to have this promise under King Ferdinandes owne hand, and the Ambassador's, but to have it presently, to the end that I might goe in diligence to the Bohemians, and, after I had done my best endeavours with them, returne agayne hither before the Dyet dissolved, that so further order might be taken for the accommodation of the troubles. I saw him plainly pinched with

^a Some words have been carefully erased here.

this, yet he promised me fayrely, but rather, as it seemed then, and hath since appeared, out of shame to eate his owne wordes so hott, then out of any good affection to satisfye me, and so we brake off for this time.

There was now nothing in the world I longed for so much as the knowledge of his Maties resolution upon the questions I propounded in my dispatch from Saltzburg, because by this proceeding I found they were not altogether impertinent. And thorough this gentleman's diligence (who I know needes no other commendation to make him wellcome to you agayne) I receyved it happily the very next day in your last letters of the 20th of July, wherein I am sory to find the misbehavior of my servant I sent formerly to yow, which letts me see a foole is ever an unfitt messenger, though he may have diligence, and there be no more left to him.

I was now being thus armed in no lesse impatience to receyve my answeere. But, notwithstanding that I did at severall times solicit both the King by his counsellors, and the Ambassador likewise, first by message and after by letter (as the inclosed^a will give sufficient evidence if it be needefull), yet I neither receyved answeere nor excuse for the delay till Tuesday the 3rd of August.

On that day the Baron of Trautsmersdorff came to me from the King and delivered me his Maties answeere, first by word of mouth, and after in the inclosed writing,^b which he brought with him, being, as by perusall you will find, in stuffe the very same with that I had at Saltzburg, and surely not much mended in fashion. I receyved also by the Baron's handes the long promised information^c against the Bohemians, which you doe alsoe receyve with the other.

I was not a little jealous that this answeere had been made thus ill at first out of dessein that the Ambassador might have that fayre occasion both to magnify his procuring a better, and to amuse me till the Election. The best was that I could not be long in this feare. For the Ambassador had appoynted to returne me my visit next day. And then, after he had lett me understand his minde-

^a No. LXXXIX.

^b No. XC.

^c No. XCI.

fulness of my request at my being with him, and excused the delays I had receyved in my desires, not thorough his faulte. He asked me if there had not at the last beene a minister of the King with me, and how I was satisfied with the answer he had given me.

I returned his complements, and then shewed him the answer, praying him to take the payns to read it, to the end that being (as I was assured) well acquainted with the matter he might see whether it were well and fully expressed in wordes, because I was to send it to the King my master. He did this at my intreaty, and then sayd it was just as was resolved in all poyntes. I had heeretofore sayd as much as I thought fitt touching the reference to the foure Princes, and therefore now insisted only upon the answer to the cessation from armes, and particularly upon those words *hac vice* which I desired to have explained. Representing further unto him that since the late Emperor had yielded to a cessation when the Duke of Saxe was by him made sole arbitrator of the differences; and King Ferdinand himselfe had before my master's intervention expressed so much care of preventing the spoyling of the countrey by armes, (first by often offering his subjects conditions of peace, and then by referring himselfe to the four Princes,) unles I being knowne to have bene sent on this employment in King Ferdinandes behalfe, after so long time waiting on him, might at last goe to the Bohemians with as fayre an olive branch in my mouth as they had ever seene (which was an accord to a cessation of armes at least) it was impossible that they should thinke either my master their friende or me their servant, or consequently send me backe with any other then a flatt denyall to harken to my perswasions. And that besides, since the treaty was referred to the foure Princes, unles his Ma^{ty} might have the peculiar honor of making a truce, I saw not what parte of the peace worthy of his Ma^{tie} could be ascribed to his intercession.

In answer to this remonstrance it pleased the Ambassador to deale cleerely with me, telling me most ingeniously that there was a greater difference betwene the times I mentioned; for that at the times I

spake of, in the late Emperor's life, and of King Ferdinand's raigne since, the war had then cost little, and the countrey receyved as little harme. But that now when the King had bene at the expense of introducing and maintayning a greate army, when the kingdome was already so much ruined that it was now too late to seeke to preserve it, and when the victory inclined so much to the King's partie that he was no longer in doubt of the event, there were but two wayes of comming to a peace, one by treaty in which the Bohemians as having the worst and being subjects must begin to offer conditions, and the other by subduing the kingdome by the sword, which he said King Ferdinand hath sufficient power to doe, and doth not clayme that Crowne by vertue of his Election (which he saith was only for a forme) *but by right of a donation from the King of Spaine, on whome both that, and the other of Hungarie are hereditarily descended*, as he promised to make me understand by writing, and I shall then send the title to his Ma^{tie}. But how his Ma^{tie} shall be able to perswade the Bohemians to a peace without a truce first accorded on the King's part, or what reputation shall redound to our greate master out of my negotiation, it pleased the Ambassador to passe over in silence, and I thought it best to leave it there too.

But tooke this fayre occasion to examine the truth of a very particular advertisement from Naples, that the Duke of Ossuna is ready to send 10000 men into Germanie, which verifieth the jealousie the Venetians have long had, that the bruite which hath bene dispersed in all Europe of that Duke's revolt was rayseed by collusion to drowne the noise of some great dessein. For the discovering of this misterie I only sayd this, that before they were too farre engaged to persist in this violent course they had begun, they might doe wisely to be well resolved that the advantages they presumed so much on were not more in conceipt then in truth, which, for ought I heard, they might have cause to suspect, unlesse they had fresh succours comming out of Italy, as I had beene advertised. Wherupon he made no scruple to confesse the advise

to be true, and laughed at the rumor of the Duke of Ossuna, who he assured me is so faythfull, and so affectionate a servant to their master, that he hath offered to serve in these Germane warres as a privat soldier.

Sir, it was happy for me, that I had so long before receyved and digested your reiterated admonitions to beware of expressing any resentment. For if I had not bene more restrayned by obedience then discretion, I know not whether I should have containned from bewraying some passion at this time. But now I forced my selfe to come of thus fairely, that it was at the King of Spaines suite, and in King Ferdinandes behalfe, that my master had sent me on this employment of intercession. But that if they had since gotten so much the better by a contrary way, that my service was heerin of no more use to them, I thought my master out of his love to that house would be well contented they should make the best use they could in their wisdomes of the advantages which their vertue and fortune had acquired. And that for my owne part I only desired to know wherein els I might be usefull to their endes.

Herupon the Ambassador fell to request me to employ all the strength of my master's credit, and of the little prudence it pleased him for his owne reputation to laye to my charge, toward the doing of good offices at the election. I told him that although I had made no wordes of it to him, yet I had acquainted King Ferdinand at Saltzburg that I had a speciall commandement of the King my master to dispose his sonne the Prince Elector Palatine to favour all the endes of the House of Austria in Germany, so farre as might come within his power. That I had accordingly discharged my duty herunto, at my first comming into this countrey; but found that prince so well inclined of himselfe to tread still (as in his minority he had begun) in the steppes of his auncestors by all good correspondence with that familie, so farr as he might without prejudice to his religion and vicariat (which boundes my master could not wishe him to transcend), that I had by this office only given a useles testimony of my master's wel wishing to that house,

and knew not what other service I could now contribute to them at the election. Yet he forbore not to instance me still, as if my presence there might be of some, he would not say what, great avayle to them; and told me that I should then after the election finde King Ferdinand gracious, and the Bohemians pliant to a peace; which I was not willing to understand, nor have much reason to beleeve.

For to come now to give his Ma^{ty} an accompt of that party; my servant, William Norrys, whom it may be his Ma^{ty} may know, and of whom I made choyce because he had beene my interpreter to King Ferdinand, beside the reasons hertofore specified, is a few dayes since returned to me. His instructions, and a copy of the credentiall letters I gave him, I send inclosed; if there be any faulte in the forme, it was committed for want of better counsell. For having beene informed from King Ferdinand's counsellor that those States had refused to open some of his master's letters because they were not inscribed in due manner, my selfe being in danger to comitt that error out of ignorance which it may be his ministers did out of willfulness, thought it the surest way to furnish my messenger with a patent commission, that it might serve him either to the whole body or to any one leading person among them, according as he should on the place finde reason to employ the credit I gave him. Accordingly he having learned of Comte Mansfeldt (to whom he is knowne) that the Baron de Rupa is at the present a chiefe guider among them, made his addresse to him, delivered his errand, which was at first in private very kindly receyved by him. But as jealousy upon all propositions and slownes in resolutions are two unseparable humors of all poplaces, after that the Baron had imparted the summe of my advertisements to the body of the Directors, and my servant afterward by their commandement, they discovered no small dislike of my not comming to them in person, but going with the King to Franckfurt (for so they would needes conceyve it, notwithstanding all that my servant was able to demonstrate to the contrary); and to tell you the whole

truth there were that sayd the mighty Monarch of Great Britayne might have done better to have assisted them with men or money then with an Ambassage which would prove in the end of no benefitt to them. But that since his Ma^{ty} had thought otherwise, that he and all the world should see them sacrifice their lives, fortunes, wives and children, for the liberty of their religion and countrey, in no base nor unworthy fashion. This I have mentioned that you may see they were disabused of their hopes of money sooner then was needefull for his Ma^{ties} service. At last after many days stay at Prague, in continuall expectation of a dispatche, my servant was at last dismissed without any manner of answeare, or so much as thanks for my advertising them so carefully what had passed betweene the King and me. I did not expect much better from a beast of so many heades, and was not therefore much troubled at it, yet made a complaine hereof to their Ambassadors, who seemed very sensible of the injury, and promised me to make their principalls capable how much they have bene in the wrong, and have since indeavoured this by their letters, but with what effect I cannot yet expect to heare.

By this messenger (whom I commanded to be curious to informe himself by his acquaintance of the true estate of their strength on both sides) I am assured that, there being much mortality in both camps, the Bohemians are yet the more in number, being about 22000 in paye, and about 6000 voluntiers, whereof 10000 brave horse; whereas the King's are about 19 or 20000 in roll, and 4000 or 5000 others. And whereas they have bene reported to be much dismayed since Comte Mansfeldt's defeate, and Comte Thurn's re-trayte from Vienna, he assures me they expresse still as much confidence as is possible, and ascribe their having thus long attempted nothing against the enemy to the counsell of their friends exhorting them to proceed with moderation, that otherwise they would long ere this have brought the deciding of their case to the greate assise of a day of battell, which hath bene their ancient and ever happy ward against their oppressors. And I am here told

from very good part that a Prince (whose name is concealed from me) hath of late sent them their old famous commander Zisky his sworde with a comfortable message.

Besides, while my man was at Prague there was, in the presence of at least 15 hundred persons, a confederation betweene the Bohemians and the Moravians, Silesians, lower and upper Lausuits, solemnly ratified by oath unto very many articles, whereof he could not before his comming away gett a copy, but remembreth two principall; that they should never admitt any King but upon stipulation first made by him not to reentertayne the Jesuites, so much as to be his domestiques, nor in his lifetime to proceede to the nomination of his successor. He doth yet further advertise me that he heard there, as I have also done here from a very good hand, that the Prince of Transylvania, whose nephew is bredde at Heydelberg, and who, being of the religion, hath bene heertofore forced to put himselfe under the protection of the Turke for his security from the invasion of the house of Austria (as I presume you know), hath now an army of 30000 men, and it is thought will either leade them directly to the Bohemians' assistance, or els against some part of the Austrians' territories, which is all one in effect.

He doth likewise assure me the uniting of the Roman Catholiques with the Evangeliques in Prague and the burning of townes to be so true, that he saw above 24 gentlemen of good quality come to aske releife of the Directors as having all they had in the world taken away and consumed. He addeth that it is there vulgarly sayd that there hath bene a commandement from the King to Count Dampiere to use this cruelty intercepted in an *Agnus Dei*. But for this I leave you to the liberty of your beleefe.

This is certayne that in Vienna Archduke Leopold hath disarmed all the Protestants and burned their books.

Out of like bitternes of spirit a servant of one of the ecclesiastical Electors at Francfurt, being present at a Protestant sermon, approached to the preacher and gave him publicly the lye.

The Prince Elector Palatine lying with his army in the Upper

Palatinate, doth by that meanes stoppe that passage into Bohemia. His Lieutenant, the Marquis of Ansbach, did of late sett upon a regiment of foote going that way without leave to King Ferdinand's party, under the conduct of Colonell Fulkes, and killed 160 of them; and we are yesterday certainly advertised that 500 horse marching for that party from Archduke Albert attempted to have gone thorough the Marquis of Ansbach his countrey without leave, which was offered them upon condition that they would disarm. But refusing peremptorily, they were charged by the Prince Elector Palatine, who was there in his owne person. There are foure skore and ten slayne, many taken, and the rest routed.

On the other side the King of Polonia is sayd to have offered to send the Prince his sonne with 8000 men to King Ferdinandes succor; but that he hath thanked that King for his favour, out of jealousie that having some pretensions on Silesia it may be but a fayre colour to invade and possesse himselfe therof.

It is now about ten dayes since the Ecclesiasticall Electors' dispatched two curriers, one to the Prince Palatine, and another to the Duke of Saxe, inviting them earnestly to render themselves yet at this Diett, or at least to send their plenary commissions and intentions to their deputyes. These curriers are not yet returned, but the Ecclesiasteks are resolved to proceede to the election upon the 10th of this moneth, and there is still no doubt how they will give their voyces.

This meane time King Ferdinand hath taken his pleasure in hunting with the Bishop of Cologne, and hath had the ill fortune shooting at a deare to kill a man.

The common people of Francfurt doe imagine that some greate alteration in the Empire to be portended by a swarme of bees ominously setting downe before their towne house, and they are now not a little confirmed in that superstition by a word that lately chanced to escape a servant of King Ferdinand's, that the Marques of Spinola would come up into Germany with an army.

That the Marquis himselfe would come to Francfurt, there hath

long beene speech at Bruxelles, though not well beleived, and if true supposed to be but to congratulate. The rest may be addition, yet because it is a matter of so great importance, I have by this bearer written to Mr. Trumbull to informe himselfe diligently thereof, and to give his Ma^{ty} a speedy accompt of what he findes is true of this boast; this is all I know of niewes.

And now to returne to the mayne business, when in my most fixed and impartiall thoughts I doe weigh this second answere, and finde it to my sense in substance not one dramme better then the former, it may be many worse in the Bohemians' opinion for the Spanish Ambassador comming in to be a treater, his master being a party; and then examining the circumstances finde it by them so much impayred in goodnes as the allay of 14 dayes attendance amounteth too; and after all this, at last reade over and neerely observe the signification of his Ma^{ties} pleasure by your well made penne, truly I conceive my selfe sufficiently directed what to doe; but because I feele my owne weake discretion unable to stand upright under the weight of so important a resolution as it hath pleased his Ma^{ty} to impose on me, I have devised to ease it of the mayne burden by this meanes: I have told the Spanish Ambassador that finding myselfe useles here till the Election be past, I would crave the Kinges leave and his to make a steppe to kisse her Highnes' handes, and from thence for my health to goe drinke the waters of the Spaw for the few dayes yet remayning of their season. And for the better avoyding of all suspition, I doe intend to leave the body of my trayne heere behinde me as a pledge of my returne. This was the best colour I could think of for my departing from this place, and that place the fittest to retire too, being farre enough off to defend his Ma^{ty} from any dishonor in case the Bohemians should receyve any blow during my mediation with King Ferdinand, and yet not so farre off but that I may returne hither agayne if his Ma^{ty} doe yet thinke there be any life in the business, which as I doe wholly submitt to his Ma^{ties} infinite wisdom. Now that I have discharged one part of my duty *mingendo*

clarè (that I may use your phrase), so I doe thinke there remaynes yet another, in setting downe my observations upon the pulse of the affayres which I am neerer to feele.

And first, when I resume into my thoughts King Ferdinandes referring the accommodation of these troubles to the four Princes, just against my comming; his Ambassador's neglecting to visitt me at Bruxelles; his owne first purpose certainly to have discharged me at Saltzburg upon that pretence he had provided if I had not wrested more from his Counsellor; and now the Spanish Ambassador maintayning that flatt answere, and producing the unheard of title to the Crowne of Bohemia, with many other arguments which you can better collect out of my relation; putting all these together, I am not afraýd to say that I feare the King of Spaine never intended to make other use of our master's interposition then by that meanes to diverte his royall intentions to assist the Bohemians, out of knowledge of his owne fayre and direct proceedings.

Secondly, though our master's intervention were at first sincerely desired, yet it is too apparent that whatsoever they use to doe in other affayres, in this they intend to governe their counsellis by their present advantages, not their past engagements. And they may possibly have some inducements herunto strong enough to sway inclined mindes, which I have written in a note apart as unfitt matter for a dispatch.

Lastly, though King Ferdinand and his party were still in truth desirous of a Peace, yet unles they would mend their marche toward it, I see little hope of ever bringing the Bohemians and them together. And this I dare confidently prognosticate, that if his Ma^{ty} shall command me to returne to Francfurt to congratulate with King Ferdinand when he shall be elected King of the Romans (the Bohemians having protested against his usurpation of the Electorall-voyce for their State, and this with reason, as you will finde by a well written remonstrance to the Elector of Mayence), I shall not afterward finde much better welcome at Prague then

my servant did. I protest by that fayth to his Ma^{ty} which I shall never violate, that I have no other endes in propounding of these difficultyes to his Ma^{ties} most excellent wisdomes then the discharge of my conscience in giving him notice of those rockes, which feare, more then foresight, hath made me discover, being now equally ready to returne hither or to England according as his Ma^{ty} shall judge best for his honor and service, which shall ever with me waighe downe all privat respects.

The celebration of the 5th of August with due solemnity hath beene cause that these goe hence a day later then they should otherwise have done, which I hope the bearer's speede will redeeme on the way, and his Ma^{ty} excuse; the time having been spent in praying and drinking to his health, which I beseech God long to continue, and so having wearyed you, I will now rest

Your most affectionate and faythfull friende
and servant,

DONCASTER.

Hanau, 7th August, 1619.

I had almost forgotten to intreate you, in case his Ma^{ty} shall resolve to recall me, to send me by this bearer his commandements and directions in these three mayne points:

1. First, whether I shall take any other leave of King Ferdinand and the Spanish Ambassador then I have done already; and if I shall, in what wordes.

2. Secondly, whether I shall send his Ma^{ties} letters to the States of Bohemia, or rather some other in my owne name; which if his Ma^{ty} hold fitter, I desire to have them drawne to my hand.

3. Thirdly, whether I shall returne by the States of the Low Countries, according to the promise made to them by Sir D. Carleton in excuse of my diversion to Brüsselles, which was not only that I should at my returne pay them that intended respect, but (in case his Ma^{ties} mediation should take no effect) consult with them what was then further to be done for the publique good.

And upon this occasion I cannot be so ill a wisher to the late happy conjunction his Ma^{ty} hath established betwene his subjects and them, as to forbear to tell you that, howsoever the body of those States did not in Senate bewray any other then good satisfaction for my going by them (as Sir D. Carleton truly advertised his Ma^{ty} and me), yet I was then infallibly assured that very many good patriotes among them expressed to their confidants no little discontentment at it, as well for the honor they conceived so solemne a legation would have bene to their State, as also out of some misconceyved causes of my diversion. If his Ma^{ty} thinke it fitt to cleere them therein by effects, I pray remember the procuring of a letter of credit. And because his Ma^{ties} being in progresse may retard the dispatche thereof, I have thought that if a draught only of that letter be sent me, I can fitt it with a blanke intended for the States of Bohemia. Sir, I am

Your servant,

DONCASTER.

[Let me ons more pray you to remember my servant Neather-soll.^a]

No. XCIII.

MAURICE, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE CASSEL, TO JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Eppstein, August 13, 1619.]

SERENISSIME et potentissime Rex, Domine ac consanguinee plurimum observande. Exhibita nobis sunt Serenitatis vestrae literae duplici potissimum de nomine nobis gratissimæ, tum quod ex iis Serenitatis vestrae indefessum studium ad procurandam et conservandam Christiani orbis tranquillitatem abundè perspexerimus, tum

^a Autograph.

quod Serenitas vestra ejus quæ inter nos intercedit necessitudo recordari voluerit. Et sanè maxime optandum fuisset motus illos superiori anno in Bohemia concitados citius sopiri et Germaniam nostram quæ exinde non parum periclitatur in tuto collocari potuisse. Verum cum utraque pars indies magis exacerbetur eo majorem difficultatem transactio illa modo habere videtur. Jucundum nobis fuisset cum Serenitatis vestræ legato domino Jacobo Haio coram conferre, ipsique nostram mentem plene exponere. Verum et ipsius et nostra negotia facultatem illam in præsentiarum^a nobis adimerunt; interim Serenitas vestra sibi de nobis promittat, nos omnibus viribus et conatibus nostris eò laboraturos ut pax et tranquillitas illis provinciis reddi, religioque vera conservari et propagari possit. Serenitati vestræ vicissim omnia officia et obsequia deferimus; Deumque Optimum Maximum precamur, ut eam quam diutissime sospitem et florentem conservet. Dabantur in arce Epponis, xiii Augusti, anno 1619.

Serenitatis V. Regiæ

Ad omnia officia et obsequia paratissimus consanguineus,
MAURITIUS HESSLE LANDGRAVIUS.

No. XCIV.

GEORGE FREDERICK, MARGRAVE OF BADEN-DURLACH, TO
JAMES I.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Baden, August 15, 1619.]

SERENISSIME Rex, literas S. V^{re} Regiæ ad me perscriptas nobilis et illustris vir Jacobus Haius Doncastriæ Vicecomes, consanguineus, consiliarius et familiaris ab interiore cubiculo regius, aliis detentus mihi per Thomam de Ralenson hac die reddi curavit. Ex quibus de S. V^{re} Regiæ singulari et benevola sollicitudine pro Romano Imperio ejusque membris potioribus uberrime constat, cujus memo-

^a There is something omitted here, probably "rerum statu."

riam gratam apud me nunquam intermorituram recipio. Summam ipsius rei autem quod attinet Evangelici Principes et Status hactenus nil magis in votis quam pacem habuere, nec etiamnum aliud nisi eam æquam et securam expetunt. Quàm alieni vero ab hac Pontificorum sint animi, qui nil præter necem et sanguinem Evangelicorum sitiunt, ex horum continuis et indefessis studiis atque actionibus magis quam notorium. Nec quippiam in omnium adversariorum ore quam bellum, bellum contra nos quos malitiosè Hæreticos indigittare assolent, prout S. V^{re} Legatus hæc plenissime explicabit. Ter maximus Dominus Exercituum, in cujus omnipotenti manu et pax et bellum, ipsorum conatibus resistat, ac omnia ad sui nominis gloriam, necnon Ecclesiæ salutem dirigat! Cæterum S. V^{ra} pro indubitato habeat me quoque nil quod ad æquam ac tutam pacem obtinendam ullomodo facere existimavero prætermisurum. Tandem S. V^{am} Uni et Trino pro valetudine prosperrima, vita longissima ac regimine felicissimo, eidemque me meosque officiose commendo. Datæ Badensis, xv Augusti, anno M.DCXIX.

S. V^{re} addictissimus,

G. F. MARCHIO BADENSIS.

No. XCV.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.

[State Papers. Germany.]

[Cologne, August 16, 1619.]

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Although I am in no great doubt but Mr. Peter Killigrew is ere this arrived safely in England, having heard of him from Bruxelles, beyond which he apprehended no danger; yet, because there can be no caution too abundant in a busines of so high importance as my dispatch by him contayned, I am much the rather induced to advertise you of other occurrences by this second expresse, that I may withall send you by the same meanes a double of those my letters to you of the 7th of August.

On which very day, about twelve hours after Mr. Killigrewes departure, the Spanish Ambassador sent his secretary to me with a letter of credit, upon which he sayd so little, and so little to the purpose, that I had reason to conceyve his principall errand was to espye whether I held my resolution for the Spaw, and whether I had made any dispatch into England, it may be out of dessein that he might send another in like diligence to amuse his Ma^{ty} with vayne hopes of a better answer. Wherein if my jealousy hath made me a true prophet, I shall humbly crave that, before his Ma^{ty} settle on a resolution of continuing me in this employment upon such suggestions, I may have leave, leaving my trayne here; to goe alone in post to kisse his sacred handes, and then when his Ma^{ty} shall have understood all that I am able to say, and is unfit to be written, to the contrary, if I cannot make it appeare that I have reason, I will adde no more but *ecce me*; and, if it shall so please his Ma^{ty}, returne hither in the same speede without so much as once seeing either wife or children.

The next day we had confident newes that they of the religion in Hungaria had, by expulsion of the Romanistes, seased themselves on the city and castell of Pretzburg, where the crowne of that kingdome is kept; and that the Comte Dampiere, having been commanded to make an inroade into Moravia, had there a battell given him, wherein he lost 2500 men, his canon, and the field; and that though the victory were bloudy on the Moravians' side, yet they forced that Comte to retire out of their country. These I held to be matters worthy of a speciall advertisement, but because they were only attested by fame, which had freshly before abused me with the report of the Marquis of Ansbach his having defeated Coronell Fulkes his regiment (which proves altogether a tale), as also with the amplifying of the number of the horsemen slayne by the Prince Palatine, who are now found to be not above 18, and not many more taken, though it be true that the whole 500 were so broken, that halfe of them have beene since hardly rallied upon the Lordship of Wurtzburg his country. This recent experience,

I say, of the uncertainty of fame's trumpet upon the first sound, in matter of warre especially, made me then so wise as to attend a second before I gave his Ma^{ty} the alarme; and now repent me of it, hearing the newes of Moravia confirmed from all partes, and particularly from the Bohemian Ambassadors, who were advertised thereof by an expresse currier; with this particularity, that the Baron of Ziettenbach (who it seemes was a chiefe commander on the Moravians' part) wanne himselfe much honor that day.

And as touching the newes of Hungaria, Sir Albertus Morton (who hath used more diligence in his journey to recover his detention in England then I feare may be for his health,) is now come to me from Heydelburg, and bringes me word from Comte John de Nassaw, who lives there in the Prince his absence, that the Hungarians have chosen the Prince of Transylvania for their King, which he affirmes to be most certaine, and is the more credible for the conformity it hath with former advertisements.

This hath stirred an apprehension in me that the Bohemians may have also a purpose to proceede to the election of a King^a at the Assembly which is at the present held at Prague, though the making of some Prince their generall be only pretended. And this with some attempt to establish their act may very well be the meaning of the generall wordes which their Ambassadors used to me at my taking leave of them, that I should within not many dayes heare of a brave resolution their masters had taken, which they were strictly charged to reveale to no person living as yet, but promised that I should be the first they would disclose it unto. Sir, I doe my selfe censure this for no more then a wild imagination, yet, as it is, thought it not unfitt to be propounded to his Ma^{ty} as a thing that, if true, will put a finall end to all mediation; as I doubt the speeche of crownes being hereditary hath done already.

In my last I forgot to give you an accompt of your letters to Sir

^a The Elector Palatine was being chosen King at Prague on the day on which this was written.

Isaak Wake, which were not then gone to him, but were sent within two dayes after by the returne of a gentleman of the Duke of Savoy from the Princes of the Union. The reason why I attended that commodity, which I expected would have bene much sooner, rather then dispatched one of my owne servants to him, you will easily collect by the note I annexed to my last, inscribed *pour le cabinet du roy*.

I have receyved the duplicats of your two dispatches by Mr. Killigrew and Cooke, as also your last letters of the 30th of July, with the inclosed provisionall congratulation, which I thinke his Mat^y would spare if it were to write agayne, and I shall forbear to deliver till I receyve a speciall commandement. But the election is not yet made, though the burgers were sworne for the security of the electors upon the 10th of this moneth, as I mentioned in my last.

And so, with my accustomed prayers for his Mat^y, I rest

Your most affectionate and faythfull friende
and servant,

DONCASTER.

From Cologne this 16th August,
1619.

SIR,

These were written, as they are dated, at Cologne. But the copy of my last could not be gotten ready till I came to this place, which I am the lesse sorry for, because I doe even now receyve letters from my servant Norry (whom I have left for my intelligencer neere Francfurt) that there is there an unchequed report these three or foure dayes that the Count of Mansfelt hath had a revenge on the Count de Buquoy, who thought to have surprised Coronell Frank serving under the Count Mansfelt his charge. But he being advertised thereof sent for ayde to the army. Count Buquoy informed hereof fled, but was pursued, and in the flight lost, as is sayd, about 500 men. This I found written by marchants to Cologne from Prague and Norimberg, but would not

beleewe till it was confirmed by my servant. He writes me also that the Princes of the Union are presently to assemble agayne at Mulhaussen, whither he found the Lantgrave of Hesse going, when he delivered his Maties letters to him, the answere whereunto you receyve inclosed. I bidde you once ageyne heartily farewell, and rest ever

Your faythfull humble servant,

DONCASTER.

From Aix the 18th of August,
1619.

SIR,

I have presumed to retayne Sir Albertus Morton with me till Mr. Killigrew returne, because I conceyve there may then be occasion to advance his Majesties service, more by the opportunity of his going to the Princes of the Union, then it can be hindered by his stay till that time.

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